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Near East/North Africa Report

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MINISTRY PROMOTING NATIONAL CULTURAL FILM CAMPAIGN

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 21 Aug 82 p 3

[Interview with official of Afghan Films Department]

[Text]

Around three million people watch feature, documentary and newsreel films produced by the Afghan films department.

Films from friendly countries are also screened by the cinema houses and mobile units of the Afghan films department in different parts of the country.

An official of the department in an interview with the Kabul New Times, said: "The department, a propagation and cultural organisation of the Information and Culture Ministry, in the light of the directives of the party and the DRA Government, has accomplished a series of activities in order to propagate and broadcast the gains of the Saur Revolution. Political, cultural, developmental and economic reports of this country are also broadcast through features, documentary and news films in order to enlighten the public so that the people can become aware by seeing these films through country's cine-

ma houses, including mobile cinema units and on the DRA TV."

"For this purpose, the cinema mobile units of the department has screened on 425 occasions features, documentaries and newsreels produced by the Afghan Film department in Kandahar, Herat, Ghazni, Farah, Paktia, Nangarhar, Laghman, Kunduz, Takhar, Badakhshan and Parwan provinces and in other remote and near parts of the country. Likewise, the units of the Armed Forces, police, State Information Services department, the frontier forces and other social organisations also watch our films."

Realising its tasks, the department produced two feature films, 12 documentary and 40 newsreels according to the envisaged plan for last year.

One feature film was named "Akhtar the ridiculous" produced jointly by the Afghan films department and the TV and, the other was "The house

555", a production of the Gulstan films.

It also completed the shooting of the film—"Villages are awakening" and carried out the montage and dubbing works of a film named "The green land" prepared on order from the Agricultural Development Bank, on the occasion of the World Food Day last year.

The documentary films, "The farmer's feast", "Philanthropy" (on order from the Afghan Red Crescent Society), "The solidarity of the masses with the revolution" (prepared in the provinces) "The third anniversary of the victorious Saur Revolution" (prepared in colour and black and white), "The National Fatherland Front", "Islamic Affairs", "The role of women in the society", "The first congress of the trade unions of Afghanistan", and "The conference of Afro-Asian peace and solidarity" were also produced by the Afghan films.

Similarly, it also prepared colour and black and white documentary films on the tours of Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA CC and President of the RC to Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria and another documentary film named "Glimpses of the gains of the revolution, after the new phase".

Production of newsreels in 1360 H.S. reached to 51 programmes which constituted the most im-

portant daily events and issues in the capital and the provinces of the country. The newsreels were prepared in black and white by using 35 and 16 mm size films, each of them having five to seven items on the average. Screening of each such film takes 10 minutes and these were screened by the cinema houses and the mobile cinema units of the department in the capital and provinces to provide detailed information to the people.

According to the envisaged plan for the current year, during the first three months, the department succeeded in completing the feature film, "The villages are awakening". Completed on Saur 6 this year, it was screened for the people on the fourth anniversary of the glorious Saur Revolution on Saur 7, in the cinema houses of the country.

The department also produced a colour and black and white documentary film of the countrywide conference of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and another documentary film named, "On whose instructions are the triggers pulled?", a colour and black and white documentary film of the fourth anniversary of the Saur Revolution, and a documentary film of the commissioning of the "Friendship bridge." The screening of these films are still continuing in the cinema houses and mob-

ile units in the capital and provinces.

The department has also photographed 4,408 sheets of colour and black and white photos, in different sizes, of the daily events, congresses, destruction by mercenaries, arrests and disclosure of the faces of counter-revolutionaries and many other such events for the interested organisations, including for magazines, weeklies and newspapers in the last year and the first three months of this year,

Elucidating on the films whose productions are under process, the official said: "In accordance with the plans it has at present, the department is working for two documentary films under the titles of "The role of worker in the society" and "Youth and the new society" with the cooperation of the trade unions and the Democratic Youth Organisation of Afghanistan.

And, an Afghan-Soviet joint feature film named "The hot summer in Kabul", parts of the shooting done in Afghanistan, was also completed earlier. The shooting to be done in the Soviet Union is underway and the film is expected to be completed at the end of this year.

The production plans of the department for the year 1361 H.S. was approved by the concerned authorities of the Information and Culture Ministry and the publicity, extension and education commission of the PDPA

CC. It includes two shooting programmes for 35 mm story feature films in black and white, and another 35mm. Afghan-Soviet joint story feature film in colour. It is also producing 35 mm black and white documentary films under the titles of "glimpses of the gains of the glorious Saur Revolution", "The fourth anniversary of the glorious Saur Revolution" (partly colour and partly black and white), "The country-wide conference of the PDPA", "The youth and the new society", "The role of the worker in the society", "The crimes of imperialism", "On whose instructions are the triggers pulled?", "Land reforms", "The saga of the soldiers", "The new Afghanistan" and "Islamic affairs."

"Individual films production like the feature film "The restaurant" of Shafaq film, a feature film, "The plunderers of the Abasin film and the feature film "The sin" by the Ariana film, are also included in the production plans of the department" the official stated.

Newsreels have also been included in this year's plans.

Fortyfive films, each showing six different subjects are to be shot. These films will depict important and major events and be screened through cinema houses in the capital and provinces of the country according to the programmes of the party and the Government.

The department will also send mobile cinema units to show these films to the rural population of the country and it will also employ some other social organisations to screen these films for the soldiers of the Armed Forces, the police commands, the State Information Services and other security forces in the country.

Answering a question, the official said: "In 1360 H.S. (1981), the Afghan Films sent its films to the international films festival, held in Moscow. Among these films, a documentary film won awards and a diploma. In a sport and tourist films festival, held in Yugoslavia, the Afghan film "Buzkashi" won a diploma."

The feature film "The villages are awakening" and the documentary film, "The countrywide conference of the PDPA" won prizes and diplomas at the seventh films festival of Asian, African and Latin American countries held in Tashkent, capital of the Uzbekistan SSR this year.

Answering another question concerning what kinds of films are imported from abroad to be shown in the cinema houses of the country, the official said: "Cinema is a healthy recreational source for the people. Therefore, the department, having in mind the policy of the party and the Government, and according to public tales and following film imports rules and regul-

ations has made the utmost efforts to import different contentful revolutionary and social feature films from the Eastern, Western European countries, India, Turkey, Arab countries and some others in order to show them in the cinema houses of the country for the recreation of our beloved compatriots and to ensure government revenue. For this purpose, the department has made a series of official contacts with a number of film manufacturing companies. If such companies do not succeed in providing films to the government then, temporary measures are taken according to the film rules and regulations and individual trade sources are employed to get such films."

Speaking about the training of cadres and technical and professional personnel in the different fields of film making, the official said: "The Afghan films department, realising the significance of qualified cadres and technical and professional personnel in the different

fields of film making, is paying special attention to training them."

The department has sent six people for higher education to the Soviet Union. They are learning cinematographic techniques in the cinema institutions in Moscow and Leningrad. Six other people were given short-term scholarships and were sent to the Tajikistan SSR to learn cinematography. After completion of their education, they returned home successfully and have expressed satisfaction at their six-month study and experience in film making.

In addition, three more people of the department were sent for the period of six to 12 months to the friendly People's Republic of Bulgaria to gain more practical experience there in this field.

The training of personnel by employing academic and short-term scholarships in film-making is to continue according to the needs of the department, the official said.

CSO: 4600/754

SOVIET MILITARY SETBACKS, TALKS WITH PAKISTAN REVIEWED

English KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 29 Aug 82 p 5

[Text]

The Soviet Union has achieved several vital objectives of its own through the 'indirect' talks between the Foreign Ministers of Pakistan and Afghanistan in Geneva recently. By opting out of the talks themselves, the Russians have turned the whole issue into one between Afghanistan and Pakistan. They have also denied the Mujahideen a place at the conference table. This will leave Pakistan with the responsibility to 'control' the Mujahideen resulting in greater tension and ill-will in the volatile Frontier region.

The Russians have also got Pakistan to accept that 'outside interference' was a problem to be discussed, thereby justifying their invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979. A senior Soviet Foreign Ministry official announced later that Soviet troops will withdraw once 'international guarantees of non-interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan are agreed'. The Soviets have been demanding this since the first day of their massive invasion.

The talks were aimed at finding a 'political settlement' to the Afghanistan crisis and were conducted through the UN under Secretary General, Diego Cordovez. The ground work for these talks had been laid by the present Secretary General of the UN, Javier Perez de Cueller, who visited Pakistan and Afghanistan twice last year as a special representative of the UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim. While interested in the Afghanistan problem, the Islamic state of Iran refused to allow de Cueller to enter Iran then

or participate in the Geneva talks now. They boycotted the talks because 'the true representatives of the Afghan people were not present'. The Islamic state has consistently demanded the unconditional withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Afghanistan and supported the stand of the Muslims of Afghanistan to determine their own future.

While absent from the talks directly, the Soviets worked behind the scenes 'guiding' the Afghan delegation. Two senior Soviet advisers, controlling the offices of the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Afghanistan respectively, were on hand to make crucial decisions for the Afghans.

The Geneva talks were the first comprehensive discussions between Pakistan and Afghanistan although the Foreign Ministers of the two countries had also held indirect talks at the UN last autumn. Since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the rulers of the Muslim countries have been busy getting resolutions passed through the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conferences or the UN General Assembly. Neither have any relevance or purpose. They only serve to camouflage the impotence of the Muslim rulers and give them an air of respectability for being 'concerned' about the plight of the Afghan people. Much of the efforts of these regimes are directed at keeping the Mujahideen weak and divided. Some mujahideen 'leaders' have been propped up to create confusion among their ranks. In fact, some,

like Mujaddidi and Sayed Ahmed Gailani, are openly opposed to the Islamic character of Afghanistan. These two are also on the payroll of the Saudis.

In going to Geneva, the Pakistan government had several things on its mind: it would like the 3 million refugees to go back to their homes.

In the wake of the Soviet invasion, Pakistan adopted a tough policy, buoyed by western, and in particular, U.S. noises against Soviet moves. The much publicized Brezezinski visit to the Khyber Pass where Brezezinski fired a symbolic shot in the direction of Afghanistan was interpreted by the generals as if the marines were about to land there. Pakistan, therefore, roundly condemned the Soviet Union at every forum in 1980. But by January 1981, Pakistan changed its position significantly. At the Taif summit, General Zia-ul Haque announced that Pakistan was prepared to work for a 'political settlement' of the Afghanistan problem. He invited the United Nations to appoint a special representative to arrange a dialogue between the parties involved in the dispute. He wanted Pakistan, Iran, India and the five permanent members of the Security Council to meet and resolve the Afghanisthan problem.

The Soviet and Afghan governments also made overtures suggesting that they would be prepared to discuss the issue if certain conditions were met. These were essentially, the recognition of the Karmal regime but, more important, they demanded a guarantee that there would be no further 'outside interference'. While these proposals were being discussed, the Soviets pursued their aims vigorously, both inside and outside Afghanistan.

Inside the country, the armed forces as well as several ministries were placed under the direct control of Soviet advisers. Afghan ministers simply served at the pleasure of their Soviet masters. In the field of education, new policies were formulated on Marxist lines and all references to religion were eliminated. Local languages were encouraged to create ethnic and linguistic differ-

ences among the people. This stood in sharp contrast to the policies imposed in Soviet occupied Central Asia where local languages were not only discouraged but Russian script enforced on the people towards total Russianization.

In typical imperialist style, handsome rewards were offered to those who would promote Soviet interests and policies. And helicopter gunships and MiG fighter bombers delivered the message to those who opposed the regime or Soviet occupation. The city of Qandahar is almost completely destroyed. So is the Panjshir valley, the scene of some of the heaviest fighting for over two years. Other places have had no better luck. Whole towns and villages have been simply wiped out.

Standing crops have been destroyed using poisonous chemicals. Many children and old people have also died as a result of poisonous gases used by the Russians.

The bombings have not only killed hundreds of thousands of people but also forced over 3 million into Pakistan and another 1.5 million into Iran. Together with the cost of the refugees aerial incursions into Pakistani airspace have kept up the pressure on Pakistan. Over 500 air violations have been recorded so far, some of them resulting in civilian deaths as well.

Along with the stick, the Soviets offered the carrot of negotiations. They acceded that recognition of the Karmal regime was not a pre-condition to the start of negotiations in Geneva.

This may have been a superfluous concession since Karmal is reported to be seriously ill, perhaps suffering from cancer, and on his way out anyway. Thus the Geneva talks between Pakistan and Afghanistan started but without the Mujahideen.

After ten days of talks, the two sides agreed upon the following points to be included in the agenda for talks in New York in September: a) the withdrawal of Soviet troops; b) the voluntary

return of all refugees to their homes, and c) international guarantees that there would be no 'outside interference' in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

The Soviets had used the pretext of 'outside interference' to invade Afghanistan in the first place. Now they would demand that the Pakistan government guarantee that the Mujahideen do not carry out any activities against the Soviet or their client state in Afghanistan. In other words, the Mujahideen have become the outsiders and the occupying Soviet troops is conditional upon guarantees of no 'outside interference', the Soviets would not pull out their troops until Pakistan 'controls' the Mujahideen. This is a neat arrangement since the Soviets have got Pakistan to do what they themselves failed to achieve in two years.

On its part, Pakistan would impose strict controls on the movement of the Mujahideen, perhaps through the use of its own troops. The Mujahideen would then be asked to cooperate in maintaining 'peace' on the borders failing which they will be condemned and hunted down. The other Muslim rulers would also lend their support and money to keep 'peace' in the region.

The Mujahideen will have to defeat the Russians on their own. They must realize that the Muslim nation-states and the various local 'Islamic' parties that have expressed support for jihad in Afghanistan are actually an impediment to their struggle. They have a long and lonely struggle ahead, but there is no short cut to an Islamic State in Afghanistan.

— *Muslimedia*, London 1982

MUBARAK'S REMARKS AT NDP MEETING

PM091223 Cairo MAY in Arabic 6 Sep 82 p 1

[Report by Ibrahim Sa'dah: "Mubarak: The Emergency Law Has Not Been and Will Never Be Used Against Any Politician"]

[Text] Why all this uproar about the emergency law? Why are we giving this topic more attention than it deserves? What harm has the emergency law done to the freedoms guaranteed by the constitution and to the democratic system? The emergency law has not been used against any politician or against anyone who expressed or upheld an opinion. I have not invoked the emergency law against any of the politicians whose views and attitudes are different from mine. I would like those who are raising all this clamor about the emergency law to name one single political against whom this law has been used. I am certain that they will not be able to come up with a name. As I have already said, I have not and never will use the emergency law against any politician.

These words were President Husni Mubarak's answer to what is being said these days about the emergency law and whether it is to remain in force or be abolished. The president made these remarks during his meeting with the National Democratic Party [NDP] leadership yesterday.

President Mubarak also said: The security circumstances in our country in this past period necessitated that we enforce the emergency law, but we did not use it against the public or to suppress freedom, silence people, impose one party and one opinion, block writers or deprive the press of its freedom. We only resorted to the emergency law to ensure public safety.

He added: God has supported us and saved our country from the dangers which threatened its security and social peace in the past period. We had to introduce the emergency law to ward off these dangers. Faced with what we faced, any patriotic regime would have done the same. As soon as we are certain that the remnants of these dangers have been eliminated I will be the first person to want to abolish the emergency law, with the Egyptian people's security and safety assured.

The president of the republic asked: What pressures has the public come under as a result of the emergency law? Have the people's movements been

restricted? Have they been denied their rights? Has their livelihood been threatened? Have they been attacked in their homes without justification or without a crime being committed or a charge brought against them? Have they been prevented from indulging in political activity or from joining the political party they want? Has anyone been arrested for an opinion he has expressed in an opposition paper? Not one of these things has happened. There are millions of people. Go out and ask them if they have suffered any of these things as a result of the emergency law. As I have said, we only used the emergency law to ensure the security and safety of the public.

President Mubarak added: We have adopted a democratic system and we will not abandon it. Even when we discover a plan against the people's security and peace, we expose it and get hold of it without prejudicing the democratic process which we have accepted for ourselves. We want this process to continue and to succeed. The multiparty system will remain and will not be harmed. Freedom of opinion is guaranteed for all, including supporters and opposition. The opposition papers are playing their role as they please without censorship and without interference by the government or other departments. An opposition paper may place some stress on a nonexistent problem or on a false rumor, in which case the government and the NDP leadership should tell the people the whole truth to prevent confusion and stop the rumor in its tracks. This is our present approach when there are lies and false rumors here and there. The emergency law has never been used against people who publish false reports, and no paper has been suspended for publishing such reports. We must not become impatient with false reports and rumors. What is important is that we respond by giving the facts that will expose them. This is democracy, and we will never go back on it.

Referring to our Arab policy, President Mubarak said: Our Arab policy is crystal clear. There has been no retreat from it and there has been no concession or abandoning of our position. This was clear to the whole world when the first shot was fired in the Lebanese war. We did much, very much indeed to stop that war and we contributed very much to the preparations for what was to follow the cease-fire. Some may say: This being the case, how could we refuse to accept the Palestinian fighters as our guests in Egypt? The answer is very simple. When we were asked to play host to 6,000 Palestinian fighters in the beginning, we agreed on one condition: That the Palestinian departure be within the framework of a just solution which we all agree for the Palestine problem. We adhere to this position to this very moment. This was our position even when U.S. envoy Philip Habib came to us and explained that the pressing problem was how to save Beirut. He was of the opinion that Israel was determined to see Beirut fall and was also determined to proceed with its war to the end. Some even threatened that Israel would march on to unspecified points where it would not be possible to stop it. I rejected this threat. As we know, Israel is not a superpower to do what it likes.

The president added: The United States was not the only side to ask us to receive the Palestinians without insisting on a framework for a just solution for the Palestine problem. Several other states did the same. We told them what we told the U.S. administration. We told them that receiving the

Palestinians and distributing them among the Arab states does not solve their problem and is not the right way to restore their rights. On the contrary, it only complicates the problem and makes it even more difficult to solve. Many Palestinians spoke out against the departure of the Palestinians from Lebanon and Israel [as published]. When the Arab states were asked to be hosts to the Palestinian fighters, President Ja'far Numayri agreed to accept a number of Palestinians in his country. The result was that some Palestinian leaders attacked President Numayri and turned down his offer on the grounds that the departure of the Palestinians would mean liquidation of the Palestine cause.

President Mubarak continued: Our attitude has not been negative. After agreement was reached on the departure of the Palestinians to various Arab states which agreed to receive them, our attitude was positive. We maintained our intensive activity and contacts with all parties concerned, especially the United States and the Palestinian leaders. Everyone knows about the messages I sent to U.S. President Reagan. The day will come when these messages will be published, and the positive and constructive role played by Egypt in defense of the Palestinian people's rights, its insistence on the fulfillment of these rights, and its unremitting call for the fulfillment of these rights will become evident.

President Mubarak reviewed the U.S. initiative announced by President Reagan last week, outlining his views as to the principles on which a comprehensive settlement of the Palestine question can be based. He said: "Without going into the details, the initiative has many positive and some negative aspects. I asked the cabinet to study the U.S. initiative and give its opinion of its clauses, and this opinion was published yesterday. It said that the initiative contains certain positive points and that we have some observations regarding it. This means that Egypt sees the initiative as suitable for giving fresh momentum to the peace process. This is in addition to the observations which are still under study. After these observations are put together they will be contained in a letter to the U.S. president outlining Egypt's opinion." The president added: "I did not just stop there. I went further and asked the leaders of the opposition parties to come and see me. My aim was to discuss with them and hear their views on the U.S. initiative. This is always my method of dealing with national issues of interest to all the Egyptian people. We are all Egyptians working for Egypt and for the fulfillment of the Egyptian people's aspirations. This can only be achieved if I hear all views, from supporters and opposition. A single opinion, however wise, accurate and suitable, does not prevent us from listening to other opinions, even if they are opposed to ours."

Although he did not dwell on the details of the U.S. initiative, President Husni Mubarak did note several important points, such as the following:

1. The initiative contains numerous positive proposals in harmony with the Arab demands included in the various recent messages sent by Egypt to the U.S. administration.

2. As a result of the intensive contacts and the specific ideas tackled, the U.S. initiative contains a new and unprecedented U.S. position. This position could become a basis for the negotiations that would precede the achievement of a just solution for the Palestinian question.
3. Egypt will not be content with just what the initiative offers. It will further intensify its contacts with the U.S. administration to draw more U.S. interest in the issue and ensure continuous efforts for the implementation of the positive aspects of President Reagan's initiative.
4. All parties concerned should allow ample time for a thorough study of the U.S. initiative, and they should not ignore the new U.S. stance. This way we can prevent attempts to retreat or set the issue back once again.
5. Egypt does not move alone. Egypt is continuously holding contacts with several fraternal Arab states with a view to adopting a unified position on the U.S. initiative, because this matter concerns the entire Arab nation and the aim is to achieve a just peace for all sides concerned.
6. We do not ask for collective approval without prior study, and we do not expect outright rejection just for the sake of rejection. We should accept the positive aspects and possibly discuss or seek amendment of the negative aspects.

CSO: 4500/290

EGYPT

'ALI INTERVIEWED BY 'AL-MAJALLAH'

PM071555 London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 4-10 Sep 82 pp 21-22

[Exclusive interview with Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali in Cairo: "Kamal Hasan 'Ali Tells AL-MAJALLAH: 'A Treaty Between Israel and Lebanon Under Israeli Occupation Would Be Very Suspect and Blemished'"--date not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] Do you consider the PLO to be the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, especially now that Egypt has taken a stand in support of the PLO, particularly after the invasion of Lebanon?

[Answer] Egypt has consistently maintained that the PLO must play a major role in the settlement of the Middle East question. As we know, all aspects of the Palestine question must be resolved. There is no doubt that the solutions to the problem of the West Bank and Gaza and the problem of the Palestinians in the Diaspora must be closely interlinked. This is why we say that the PLO has a major role to play in the settlement of the Palestine question.

[Question] But, in addition to the PLO, what other sides have a right to represent the Palestinians?

[Answer] We must remember that there are 1 million Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza.

[Question] But Israel maintains that all the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza are PLO members.

[Answer] So be it, but they should have their own representatives, whether they are linked to the PLO or not.

[Question] Is this the democratic approach to choosing the representatives of the Palestinian people? If the Palestinian people decided that the PLO did represent the people of the West Bank and Gaza, would the PLO become the sole legitimate representative of these people?

[Answer] Of course, of course.

[Question] Egypt has refused to receive the Palestinians unless there is a commitment to a comprehensive settlement. Did Israel warn Egypt against admitting the Palestinians or was Egypt's decision based on conviction and fixed principle?

[Answer] Nonacceptance of the fighters has been a principled stand from the very first moment of the Israeli invasion. I raised this matter during my first meeting with President Reagan in Washington on 11 June this year. Egypt's position before our contacts with the PLO was the same as it is now: Refusal to receive the Palestinians except within the framework of a comprehensive settlement, or refusal to participate in the distribution of the Palestinians to other Arab states after their expulsion from Beirut unless there is a political reward for the PLO. Egypt has adhered to this principle since as far back as my first visit. This was our position in the letter I carried to President Reagan from President Mubarak in June, and in the second letter at the end of July.

[Question] Was there no interference or pressure by Israel?

[Answer] None whatsoever. On the contrary, during one of my meetings with the Israeli ambassador in June, he spoke of the importance of [Egypt] receiving some Palestinian fighters. U.S. envoy Philip Habib visited me and made the same request. Egypt emphatically refused to be party to this process. This is a matter of principle.

[Question] Now that the Palestinians have left [Beirut] without there being a political commitment to settle the issue, what is Egypt's position?

[Answer] Our position is still the same until the features of a comprehensive settlement of the Palestine question become clear.

[Question] If invited, would Egypt attend the Arab summit conference?

[Answer] Ever since the Arab states adopted the position they did at the Baghdad summit conference, Egypt has never been against Arab solidarity. However, it is clear that certain Arab states are still not prepared to restore their relations with Egypt. As President Mubarak said, and rightly so, we do not wish to rush these states or hurry them. Let the right time for them be the right time for us. If invited to the summit conference Egypt would consider the matter thoroughly.

[Question] Having dealt with the PLO during the recent crisis, what advice would you give the PLO now?

[Answer] Circumstances have forced the PLO to leave Beirut. The PLO has a political wing and a military wing. Undoubtedly the PLO cannot at this stage continue its military action. Therefore, the weight should be immediately shifted to political efforts. The United States and the moderate Arab states are leaning toward solving the Palestine problem through negotiations. During the crisis the PLO depended on a U.S. guarantee for the departure of its fighters from Beirut and it sought a dialogue with the United States. Since there is such a trend in the PLO, the PLO should agree

on political action and should adopt a united position on the question of U.S.-Palestinian dialogue. This, I believe, would then make it possible to approach Israel with a view to solving the problem our way, namely through recognition of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights and through self-determination.

[Question] You have read Secretary of State Shultz' statements and you have met with President Reagan twice. Obviously the United States has no intention of recognizing the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. So what hope is there?

[Answer] We cannot be that specific about the U.S. position. It is clear that the U.S. administration is in the process of reassessing its approach to the settlement of the Palestine question. It is also clear that the United States does recognize certain rights of the Palestinian people. What prevents the United States getting closer to the real dimensions of the issue is the attitude of the PLO on one hand and Israel's intransigence on the other. This is why we should tackle the PLO's position on the question of peace as a whole. This way we can put Israel on the spot. By declaring the PLO's position on peace we can defeat Israel's argument.

[Question] As a military man, and also as a politician, do you think Israel will withdraw from Lebanon? It is now talking about winter clothes.

[Answer] Irrespective of everything else, we say that Israel must withdraw. This is why I believe that Israel should not be given any opportunity to stay in Lebanon. In other words, if the Lebanese Government requests the withdrawal of the Syrian forces then the Syrian forces should withdraw immediately. No Arab state should provide Israel with a pretext for remaining in Lebanon a single day longer than it claims it would.

[Question] What would Egypt's position be if Lebanon did sign a peace treaty with Israel?

[Answer] An independent Lebanon, a Lebanon not under Israel occupation, undoubtedly has a right to do what it likes. However, signing such a treaty, a peace treaty, while still under Israeli occupation would make the process very suspect and show it to be blemished. Some might say that Sinai was under occupation but this situation is really different. Egypt began the negotiations after the glorious October War. Cairo, Egypt's capital, was not under Israeli siege, and Sinai is not a densely populated area. All this is different from the present phase of the Israeli occupation of Lebanon. Furthermore, Israel signed a treaty providing for complete Israeli withdrawal from Sinai.

[Question] Did the signing of the Camp David agreements make it possible for Israel to hit Lebanon?

[Answer] Let us look at the record. In 1976 Israel crossed into southern Lebanon and stayed there for 3 months. The late President Al-Sadat had not yet gone to Jerusalem.

[Question] Does this mean that the Israeli invasion of Lebanon was part of a political and military plan and that it is continuing?

[Answer] Of course.

[Question] How do you view the deployment of U.S. Marines in Lebanon?

[Answer] They went there on a specific mission, namely to ensure the departure of the PLO and its forces from Beirut.

[Question] What about the chances of restoring relations with the Soviet Union, and what about Egypt's support for the Nonaligned Movement?

[Answer] The main thing is that Egypt should have good relations with all states, especially if there are no sharp differences affecting basic issues. There should be normal relations between us and the Soviet Union, not special relations--normal relations at ambassador level. We should have solid and strong relations with the nonaligned states. Our relations with India have always been good in all the political, economic, cultural and other fields. It is the foreign minister's job to improve the diplomatic relations between Egypt and any other state with whom these relations may have deteriorated, as long as the actions of that state are not aimed at undermining our interests. When this condition is met we have no objection to good relations with all states.

[Question] On the issue of Egyptian-Soviet relations, does their restoration require an Egyptian or a Soviet initiative?

[Answer] There is no doubt that Egyptian-Soviet relations did deteriorate at a certain stage, and some Soviet media still maintain that everything happening in this region is the result of the Camp David agreements. This is not conducive to a rapid improvement in relations. We hope that political relations will improve. Our economic relations with the Soviet Union are proceeding normally.

[Question] Cyprus has played a special role in the evacuation of the Palestinians. Has the time come to restore relations with it?

[Answer] Relations with Cyprus were frozen after the assassination of Yusuf al-Siba'i and the position taken by the Cypriot Government on this matter, and the subsequent killing of a number of Egyptian officers and soldiers. We believe that it will be some time before relations with Cyprus are restored.

[Question] The Baghdad nonaligned summit conference has failed and the Tripoli African summit conference has failed. Does this not prompt Egypt to move?

[Answer] President Mubarak's visit to Yugoslavia is for the purpose of solidifying the nonalignment bloc. On Africa, Egypt will undoubtedly take a stand now that the Tripoli conference has failed. Egypt's aim is to revive the real role of the OAU. As for the Islamic states, they have to make a decision at the next conference. Of course, the Islamic states cannot take Egypt's Islam away from it.

'AL-AHRAM' COMMENT ON REAGAN INITIATIVE

PM081517 Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 6 Sep 82 pp 1, 3

[Article by Chief Editor Ibrahim Nafi': "The Reagan Initiative and the Palestine Question"]

[Excerpts] As we were examining the results of Israel's invasion of Lebanon, we really did not expect the surprise initiative announced by U.S. President Reagan Thursday.

In a few quick observations we can perhaps note some of the positive and negative aspects of this initiative in the light of what has been published of it and without claiming to know the correct answers to the questions that the initiative raises. We believe that the positive aspects can perhaps be summed up in the following:

The United States has rejected the principle of imposing Israeli sovereignty on the West Bank and Gaza. Begin upheld this dangerous principle when he submitted his cabinet's program to the Knesset, saying that Israel would impose its sovereignty on the West Bank and Gaza after the 5-year autonomy period.

In its initiative the United States, after rejecting the imposition of Israeli sovereignty over the West Bank and Gaza, also rejected the principle of Israel's annexation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Such annexation is acceptable to nobody. Nobody would want the Palestinians to become second-class Israeli subjects with Israel imposing its will on them.

The initiative does not regard the Palestine question as being merely a question of refugees, but rather a question of a whole nation. This goes a step further than Security Council Resolution 242 and will make available the time and efforts necessary for amending this resolution.

We see the initiative's assertion that "as they exercise full autonomy, the Palestinians should have real power over themselves and over the land and resources, with fair guarantees regarding water resources" [quotation as published] as being a clear approval and an acceptable interpretation of the concept of autonomy.

Furthermore, we can understand that the relationship, as noted in the initiative, between the Palestinian people, or rather the West Bank and Gaza, and Jordan after the proposed 5-year period, or earlier is possible, should be subject to the choice and approval of the two Arab sides. These two sides might, in their future discussion of this relationship, decide that it is in their interest to have federal or confederal links. Such a relationship can only exist between one state and another not between a state and a popular entity that is not a state. At any rate the initiative contains sufficient repudiation of the claim by that bloodthirsty General Sharon that Jordan is itself the Palestine state.

Egypt did at one time support the idea of keeping Jerusalem a united city, but it definitely did not agree to Jerusalem's being Israel's capital or recognize it as Israel's capital. Egypt agreed that the final status of Jerusalem should be subject to negotiation provided that the Arab inhabitants of the city participate in the West Bank elections and express their views on autonomy. We believe that the U.S. initiative supports all this.

We fully agree with the assertion in the initiative that the building of settlements in the West Bank and Gaza should be immediately suspended.

The initiative firmly emphasizes the need to enlarge the scope of participation in the negotiations--something which Israel has been stubbornly fighting and which it has refused to concede despite the fact that it committed itself to take steps to build confidence.

As for the negative aspects, we can make the following quick observations:

The initiative says that when negotiations are held between Jordan and Israel on the border question, it is believed that the size of the territory that Israel will be asked to give up should to a large extent depend on the degree of peace really achieved and on the normalization of relations and the security arrangements offered in return. Our objection to this clause is that it is not in harmony with the peace process sought by the states in this region. The initiative talks about Israel's security and safety but does not in any way mention the security of the proposed Palestinian homeland in the West Bank and Gaza or the security of Jordan or any of Israel's neighbors.

The initiative categorically rejects in advance the setting up of a Palestinian state, instead of leaving the door open for the Palestinians, when they exercise their right to self-determination, to determine the kind of link they wish to have with Jordan or to opt for a confederation with Jordan--something which can only be established between states. Therefore, a mention of a Palestinian state in the initiative would have possibly given the Palestinians full freedom in their self-determination, instead of restricting that freedom by rejecting the idea of a state in advance.

On the other hand, we can understand that the initiative may have intentionally avoided mentioning the Palestinian state to avoid pressure from the Zionist lobby in the United States and also to avoid Israel's repeated

rejection of the idea of a Palestinian state, although, surprisingly, it does not object to such a state and even welcomes such a state provided that it is in Jordan.

Some points in the initiative require a lot more explanation. For example, it does not at all mention the PLO, which leads the Palestinian people's movement and is recognized by the world as their legitimate representative.

Furthermore, the initiative does not at all tackle the question of the Palestinians abroad and their right to return to their land or to be compensated if they do not wish to return to the West Bank and Gaza.

These are passing comments on the U.S. initiative to settle the Palestine question. They are more in the nature of political impressions than political evaluation of the initiative. The U.S. initiative definitely requires examination in depth, with greater concentration, before we pass final judgment on it.

What we want to stress here, however, is that the United States has indeed come up with an initiative that can be discussed, examined and talked over with it. The United States has presented it to us and promised to carry it out. This in itself is an important positive change which places a great historical responsibility on the shoulders of the Arab nation, and especially the Palestinians, and for which our future generations will ask us to account.

CSO: 4500/290

EGYPT

TALKS HELD WITH ROMANIAN DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER

NC071622 Cairo Domestic Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 7 Sep 82

[Text] Egyptian-Romanian military discussions began at noon today at the general command of the armed forces.

The chief of staff of the Egyptian Armed Forces, Lt Gen 'Abd Rabb al-Nabi Hafiz, headed the Egyptian side. Gen Vasile Milea, deputy defense minister and chief of staff, headed the Romanian side.

Following the discussions, Lt Gen 'Abd Rabb al-Nabi Hafiz stated that the discussions centered on strengthening cooperation between the two countries in all domains, particularly in the military domain. He added that the discussions also dealt with the aspects of cooperation in the field of manufacturing [Romanian products under license], the exchange of expertise and visits and cooperation in all spheres.

He added that he will visit Romania around the beginning of 1983.

The Romanian deputy defense minister stated that he is delighted to be visiting Egypt, because this is his first visit to this country. He expressed his pleasure with President Husni Mubarak's visit to Romania to strengthen the relationship and friendship existing between the two countries, particularly since the relationship between Egypt and Romania has been a good one for a long time.

He said: Cooperation between the two countries encompasses the military domain as well as all economic fields.

Gen Vasile Milea arrived at Cairo Airport at 1400 [1200 GMT] today on an official week-long visit to the Arab Republic of Egypt at the invitation of Lt Gen 'Abd Rabb al-Nabi Hafiz, the chief of staff of the armed forces.

CSO: 4500/290

CROSSING POINT ON ISRAELI BORDER DESCRIBED

Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic No 2492, 28 Jul 82 pp 23-25

/Article by Usamah 'Ajaj: "AKHIR SA'AH Was There: What Is Going on by the Wire Fences in Rafah?"/

/Text/ How is work proceeding at the Rafah land outlet in North Sinai, one of the many outlets organizing passenger and vehicle traffic with Israel and the last point on the border between Egypt and Israel, now that work has ended in the al-'Arish outlet with the withdrawal of the last Israeli soldier from Sinai and the restoration of full Egyptian sovereignty over the land? What are the types of passengers and tourists, who total 200 /sic/ a day? Has the new outlet succeeded in eliminating the mistakes of the experiment in the al-'Arish outlet?

AKHIR SA'AH observed the picture in its real state along the final borders with Israel, watching peoples' activities and observing the people who were traveling off or coming in in order to ascertain the type of problem, in an attempt to find solutions. This place is the first point of cultural confrontation in the process of relations between Egypt and Israel.

Let us start the trip together.

We are now at the Rafah overland outlet. We have started the second stage of the journey after passing through the Salah-al-Din outlet, or the Hasan al-Jawar gateway, which allows the transit of people who have interests in Rafah, Palestine and Rafah, Sinai.

The situation at the Rafah overland outlet is different from that in the Salah-al-Din outlet; here, the situation to a large degree resembles conditions in Cairo airport or Suez and Alexandria customs. However, the Rafah land outlet is restricted to tourist and passenger movement between the two countries, buses, and private cars, not airplanes or ships. Therefore movement here is restricted to people and tourists, and is far from the turmoil of airplanes.

A rapid glance at groups of tourists who come to the Rafah overland outlet in order to enter or leave Egypt will immediately reveal that they are a "strange blend" of different nationalities. The bulk of them consists of Jews who have found an opportunity for tourist travel (in the journey of peace we are experiencing) to

archaeological sites in Cairo, which is normal, though it is not normal in the case of American tourists and certain citizens of Moslem countries like Pakistanis and Indians.

Through a quick conversation with a sampling of these nationalities, we can discover an amazing thing. The Jews, in their tourist publicity in the period after the peace, have concentrated on the need to visit the Pyramids and the Nile after going through Tel Aviv. In the Islamic countries, publicity has concentrated on the need to visit the Islamic tourist sites in Cairo, after going through the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqsa Mosque. In this case, a coup the grace is delivered to all the tourist's money in Israel and the tourist comes to Egypt in a state of near bankruptcy. I believe that the situation calls for a rapid remedy and a new approach on the part of the Egyptian Ministry of Tourism, to keep tourist activity in Egypt from being affected by Israeli publicity.

The strange thing is that an American tourist, as soon as he set foot outside the Rafah land outlet on Egyptian soil, asked an Egyptian officer about the state of the weather and whether it got to 50 degrees centigrade! The Egyptian officers told him that to the contrary the temperature in Cairo was very moderate on the average and never got to that level! We state once again: take a look, Ministry of Tourism!

Alongside the different types of Jewish and American tourists, and tourists from some Islamic countries, we find Palestinians, who have not been led by the long years and high, enduring barriers to forget their relatives or families in various Egyptian towns where many Palestinian families live. The Rafah overland outlet is a new route and comfortable way to resume ties and continue visits. One can make the Palestinians out directly by their features, their way of carrying their baggage and what they bring into Egypt!

The Flag Game

The Rafah land outlet lies along the direct route between al-'Arish and Palestine. Israel set it up and looked after it to help it put army units into the area rapidly. In general, the outlet lies about 6 kilometers outside the town of Rafah on a line that extends roughly from the Salah-al-Din outlet that lies in the heart of the town of Rafah.

What is ludicrous and striking here along the Egyptian-Israeli borders, which are 220 kilometers long, is that in many sections of the border mines have been placed on the Israeli side. You find a struggle of a new kind going on between Egypt and Israel which may be summarized as a "battle of the flags." Whenever the Egyptians raise a flag, the Jews insist on raising a flag of their own which is bigger and higher. If Egypt changes its flag, the Jews quickly change the size and height of their flag! When we left Rafah, the battle of the flags was still going on!

The establishment of the Rafah overland outlet was preceded by a group of measures. Traffic maps between the two countries were set forth. A traffic unit for cars going into and out of Egypt was erected to handle the process of changing license plates and to facilitate the entry of cars at maximum efficiency, especially in the

case of tourist groups. The land outlets between Egypt and Israel are not restricted to Rafah; rather, there are four of them. In addition to Rafah, there are outlets in al-'Awjah, Ra's al-Naqab and Taba, and there are four air outlets, the airports at St Catherine's, Ra's Nasrani, Ra's al-Naqab and al-Jura, and a single marine outlet, the port of Sharm al-Shaykh. Agreement was reached that traffic through Rafah would be restricted to passengers in North Sinai and that al-'Awjah customs would be restricted to the transit of goods and private vehicles. The same would be the case with respect to the Ra's al-Naqab and Taba outlets in South Sinai.

Agreement was reached with the Israelis that Israel would deposit a sum of \$2 million in the customs department's account in the Suez Canal Bank to pay for vehicles and customs duties they owe, as well as all other taxes, in the event these vehicles did not return to Israel. If the sum on deposit with the customs department is spent, the department will request Israel to deposit an equivalent amount as a further guarantee. /Egyptian/ cars are permitted to transit with an international traffic cashier guarantee; in the event they do not return, the Egyptian Automobile Club will pay the price and the customs duties of the cars and a late fine, in accordance with an agreement made by the Egyptian and Israeli clubs, as well as international agreements in this regard.

In the event cars stay on past the date of their entry visas or the date on which their transit is valid, whichever is earlier, the Egyptian customs department will take legal measures to seize the cars and confiscate their special insurance letters. This is the manner in which cars are dealt with at the al-'Awjah outlet.

Some people have expressed concern over trade between Egypt and Israel and the extent to which that will affect the Egyptian market. Through the al-'Arish customs experience, it became clear to everyone that Israel did not have commodities with which to threaten the Egyptian market. None of the electrical appliances which come to the port are Israeli-made; in fact, most tourists coming from Cairo bring appliances bought in our markets. All they have are agricultural and livestock products, which are exempt from customs. Therefore, Sinai customs is not considered an import post but is rather primarily a sovereign customs post.

Controlling Smuggling

Brig Gen Sa'd-al-Din Muhammad al-Khalil, the commander of the Rafah overland port and former director of the al-'Arish outlet, told us the story of an exporter who tried to market a group of Israeli refrigerators at al-'Arish customs. They came to more than 500 Egyptian pounds in price and did not have the capacity of any Egyptian refrigerator of any form. The Israeli exporter brought them back in after he had lost hope of disposing of his goods!

Brig Gen Sa'd-al-Din went on, talking about the course of work in the Rafah outlet:

"I believe that the course of work to a large degree resembles the situation that prevailed at the al-'Arish outlet. After a passenger arrives at the gate, he goes through international procedures, starting with security procedures, in addition to procedures for changing \$150 into Egyptian currency in the Banks of Egypt and Alexandria and National Bank branches. After that he goes through the passport

windows to receive an arrival stamp on the passport and is inspected in customs upon paying an entry fee, which is estimated at about 2 pounds, which will be raised to 3 pounds. As far as the passengers go, the passengers go into customs with their bags, are examined, go to the passport section and from there proceed to the outer gate, where departing passengers are taken by Egyptian buses to the other outlet in Israel.

"The volume of passengers at the Rafah outlet amounts to 1,500 to 2,000 arriving and departing passengers a day. Israeli tourist activity accounts for a large portion of this, followed in number by American Israelis, especially since there is an Israeli bus from Tel Aviv to Cairo and an Egyptian bus from Cairo to Tel Aviv.

"In general, we have benefitted from our experience with the al-'Arish outlet, especially the series of mistakes that we made there; the al-'Arish outlet itself consisted of a railway station and there was no sequence of procedures, with the result that many passengers had to come back in again. In addition, there was a shortage of equipment.

"In Rafah, the situation is different. We have established a main arrival room of a most modern style and its costs come to about 1.5 million pounds. It has four passport counters. The people working in the outlet, who number 250, have received a high level of training both in the case of passport officers and customs men. Work hours in the outlet are set at 0900 hours in the morning to 1700 hours in the evening. All holidays have been canceled, except for Yom Kippur in Israel and the blessed Greater Bayram in Egypt. There used to be 2 days of rest a week, Fridays and Saturdays, at the al-'Arish outlet."

Problems Are View

Concerning the problems facing the people working in the Rafah outlet, Brig Gen Sa'd-al-Din said,

"The scope of the problems here is small; they may be summarized by the failure to understand the procedures governing outlets. For example, passengers can obtain compulsory entry visas in Cairo airport.

"Here, however, we refuse entry to people who do not have visas! Some tourists also obtain entry visas for Egypt and take an opportunity to go to Israel, on grounds that the visa remains valid. When they come back to Cairo they are surprised to find that it is necessary to obtain a new visa to get into Cairo."

Although only a few months have passed in the life of the outlet, that has not inhibited attempts at smuggling, whether the smuggling of currency, especially dollars, or of gold. In all, the number of smuggling cases comes to more than 20, one case involving the smuggling of Egyptian antiquities in the possession of an American tourist. Naturally, the smugglers think that the process of smuggling across the borders is easy and they do not come to the outlet, which explains why the number of smuggling cases is small.

It appears that Jews are Jews everywhere at all times. When the outlet started working, they would delay the arrival of Israeli tour groups until just before 1700 hours--shortly before the end of work in the outlet--in order to create a sort of confusion in the outlet agencies. However, the feeling on the part of the people working in the outlet of the sensitivity of their work deprived this sort of conduct of its benefit to the Jews by continuing to work until the tourist groups' entry procedures were completed. In general, this sort of petty conduct has come to an end.

It seems that the people working in this outlet have totally forgotten their problems of overwork and the sensitivity of the job. However, I have heard that there is a housing problem for many of the people working in the outlet; although 75 percent of the people working there are from al-'Arish, that is a problem which causes them great disturbance, especially since the town of al-'Arish is more than 50 kilometers from the outlet. However, even this problem, as Lt Gen Yusuf Abu Talib, governor of North Sinai, told AKHIR SA'AH, is in the process of being solved. Agreement has been reached to erect a housing complex for people working in the outlet, especially police officers, which will be built near the outlet. That will be completed soon, now that the governorate has made a full study of the project.

AKHIR SA'AH left the Rafah outlet, asserting, after seeing many items of evidence and indications there, that it is necessary to pay attention to tourist activity, lest Israel take the tourists out of our hands!

11887

CSO: 4504/452

EGYPT

JUSTICE MINISTRY CONSIDERS ELIMINATING PARLIAMENTARIAN'S IMMUNITY

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 30 Jul 82 pp 1, 5

/Article by Fu'ad Fawwaz: "Discussions on Eliminating the Immunity of a Consultative Assembly Member Who Has Evaded 4.8 Million Pounds in Taxes"/

/Text/ The Ministry of Justice has started to take legal measures to eliminate the immunity of a Consultative Assembly member on the charge of evading payment of 4.8 million pounds on his import-export commercial activity.

AL-AKHBAR has learned that Dr Salah Hamid, the minister of finance, has given agreement to the filing of a criminal case against the taxpayer who committed the evasion, now that the anti-evasion agencies have ascertained that he owes the Tax Department about 4.8 million pounds for the past year. To make it feasible for the court to fine him, contact is to be made with the Ministry of Justice and the Consultative Assembly to eliminate his immunity prior to trying him.

An official source stated that the constitution allows the minister of justice to submit an application to the Consultative Assembly to eliminate a person's immunity. In the event the assembly is in recess, the Consultative Assembly chairman will take charge of investigating the application as stipulated by Articles 99 and /number illegible/ of the permanent constitution.

The investigation, which was headed by Muhammad Fahmi, the chairman of the office of tax evasion prosecution, established that the taxpayer who had committed the evasion had deliberately concealed the true nature of his activity and used deceptive methods, claiming that he was an agent for foreign companies abroad and received limited, paltry commissions for his activity, although these companies belonged to him and his employees and were established abroad in accordance with his request. The true nature of these companies was not apparent in Egypt. All these facts emerged from the records found in certain telexes he had issued to consulting firms and banks to establish these companies. Through these fictitious companies, he proceeded to make imports from European firms and public sector firms and obtained large commissions.

The records that were found in certain telexes to commercial banks also contained an order to transfer funds to certain officials in the domestic companies the accused person was dealing with.

11887
CSO: 4504/452

PROMINENT WRITER DRAMATIZES CURRENT TAX, ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Cairo UKTUBAR in Arabic No 301, 1 Aug 82 p 13

/Article by Ihsan 'Abd-al-Qaddus: "At a Cafe on Politics Street"]

/Text/ Shouting at the top of his voice, the young man said:

"I will ask President Husni Mubarak to choose a housewife for prime minister! The condition is that she be the mother of at least four children and that her monthly income, along with her husband's, be no more than 50 pounds, so that she can represent the majority of housewives in the country. After she assumes charge of the ministry, she will not be able to have any of the personal trappings ministers enjoy--that is, she will not drive a luxury government car, and therefore she will have to experience the crisis in transportation. She will not have the right to rely on government employees as servants and retinues, and therefore she will have to endure the crisis of obtaining services. Another condition will be that she will not have any special relationship with the minister of supply, the minister of production or the minister of economy, lest she receive official gifts and these alleviate the crises she suffers from. In fact, her office will have to be inside her home; the Council of Ministers will meet there, so that it will meet under the threat of sewer crises, water crises and electricity crises and assemble inside the garbage heap of Cairo. The prime minister should have the right to issue orders that have the force of law--orders she will issue to solve housewives' problems without referring to studies on papers, documents and statistics and without being hemmed in by the government mentality, but acting, rather, with the mentality of the housewife. The great calamity Egypt is experiencing has become the calamity of the Egyptian home. Ministers might be geniuses when it comes to studies and compilations of statistics, but they understand nothing about managing the responsibilities of the home and have no feeling for housewives' problems. The only solution is for the prime minister to be an ordinary housewife so that she can solve the problems of the home. Rather than crying in bed every night, she can cry officially as she is sitting in the prime minister's office."

The old man stated, in ridicule:

"You are babbling nonsense as usual. All you need is to have a housewife meet with the vice chairman of the People's Assembly and present him with her vexations and her opinions, so that he can submit them to the government and discuss them, in order to come up with something that will save housewives."

The young man said, in his loud voice:

"The People's Assembly members are now prohibited from intervening to save the Egyptian home. The government issued the latest tax laws raising prices as if it was flashing knives to slaughter housewives once the People's Assembly was in recess. This is not its constitutional right. Rather, the constitution has turned into a book on remedial reading that only children and uneducated ignorant people need; once they learn to read and write, they become free to choose what they can read and write. The government has been acting deviously, as if it is playing three-card monte. It announced a grant of 4 pounds per month to all the people, the people went out and shouted with glee, then in a few days the government showed its final card, raising prices. That is, the government is taking 20 pounds from everyone in exchange for the 4 pounds it has paid out. The people's joy has turned into screams and tears."

The old man said calmly,

"The prices that were raised were the prices on luxury goods for the children of people with money. Do you consider yourself the children of people with money. Do you consider yourself the child of a rich man? Is everyone at the same level of wealth? Will you die of hunger if you do not eat caviar? Will you die of sorrow if you do not wear an imported suit? Will the housewife die because she cannot buy a bottle of perfume with which to sprinkle herself?"

The young man made a sarcastic, rebellious laugh and said,

"Are you fooling yourself or trying to fool me? Just the principle of raising prices has led to a rise in the prices of essential commodities, along with the prices of luxury goods. Matches rose from 20 to 25 piasters overnight. Salt rose from 20 to 25 piasters per sack. And so on. The officials do not appreciate the 5 piasters to the price, but these 5 piasters are wrecking most people's lives. And what is more wretched is that a can of cooking fat sells for 280 piasters in the societies but the merchants steal it from the societies and sell it for 6 pounds. They sell it not in the black market but in a market that has come to be known as the free market. And so on and so forth. This free market embraces all the requirements of life, including bread. The official price per disc has gone up from a half a piaster to a piaster, on the pretext that it has been improved and it has been upgraded to be pleasing to the Egyptian stomach. However, the 1-piaster disc is worse than the one that sold for half a piaster. In our home we buy 20 discs a day, because there are 6 of us and each of us eats the top of the disc but cannot eat the bottom of it because it is soaked in sawdust and refuse. However, if he wants to honor and satisfy his stomach, he has no choice except the discs that are sold in the free market, which cost 3 piasters. That is, we pay 60 piasters for bread alone a day, which is untenable."

The young man said in ridicule,

"Each overseer is concerned to keep his own home in order; he is not concerned with other people's homes. He is content to get what will make him happy and keep him from talking about the speculation and fraud he sees."

The old man, grumbling, stated,

"It sounds as if you are accusing everyone of committing the crime of bribery."

The young man said sarcastically,

"Bribery is no longer a crime; it is a right--that is, a right of life. The government will save Egyptian peoples' homes not by relying on overseers but rather by developing its mentality to the point where it is in keeping with that of the housewife, who, with her own mentality, made an appraisal of luxury goods. She was right in her appraisal of jewelry, caviar and wine, but are cars mere luxury items? Are television sets and radios just luxury appliances? The government ought to have made a distinction in imposing taxes on the levels of each given commodity, raising taxes 500 percent on Rolls Royces but no more than 10 percent, or not raising them at all, on ordinary cars like Nasrs, and the same with every commodity. Indeed, the failure to feel and the failure to give importance to mercy for individuals goes all the way to the new government projects."

The old man, matching the youth's sarcasm, said,

"Like what? What do you mean?"

The young man somber with ill temper, stated,

"The government announced a project to pipe natural gas to people's homes to substitute for bottled butane. People were delighted. The project was actually carried out and gas was brought to many areas, including Heliopolis. Last week I met a woman from Heliopolis who was crying. The bottled butane cost her 4 pounds a month, but the gas, as the meters record it, is costing her no less than 16 pounds per month. She is forced to pay, in spite of herself, because she does not have the right to make a choice and revert to the use of butane; the government has cancelled the use of butane in that section. The government did not make all these calculations in order to spare housewives from inflation, although the difference in price is well known and is the result of the fact that gas is less flammable than butane and is more rapidly consumed. Cooking okra, which would take half an hour with butane fuel, now takes an hour and a half when cooked by gas. If the government took all that into account while it was carrying out the project, it would have saved people from another fire--the fire of inflation."

The old man said, in distress,

"What do you want from the government now?"

The youth stated, decisively,

"I want the government to abandon the principle of imposing taxes on consumer goods to cover the deficit and to confine itself to thinking of imposing taxes on personal incomes. The statistics say there are 1,500 millionaires in Egypt. The number is much greater. The Egyptian millionaires who put their millions to work abroad are many times more numerous than the ones here. The government could

manage to prohibit people from earning a million--if anyone gets a million and goes beyond that, that can be taken as taxes. We will be covering the deficit of the majority of the people and reducing the impingement of class differences which have started to threaten a class revolution. That is what the government might do, or might lead to, unless the prime minister is a housewife suffering from the problems housewives suffer from."

The old man said at once,

"Let us drop this subject and talk about a political subject, the subject of Lebanon or Iraq."

The young man, sarcastic again, said,

"Politics has become a luxury subject. All the people have become scholars of economics, studying and discussing the subject of inflation."

11887

CSO: 4504/452

DAILY REVIEWS DR VELAYATI'S ROLE IN NIAMEY CONFERENCE

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 23 Aug 82 p 2

[Editorial by S. Moadab]

[Text]

Niger has been the host of the conference of Islamic foreign ministers since yesterday. In Niamey, the capital city, an important meeting is being held at a very sensitive time. The Islamic ummah, which has suffered immensely from dissension in the Islamic world, expects a lot from these men convening in Niamey. The Islamic Republic of Iran (IRI) is represented there by its foreign minister, Dr. Ali Akbar Velayati.

The conference of Islamic foreign ministers (IFM) meets every year in one of its member countries and the issues to be debated are determined according to group consensus of priority and importance. This year the first subject to be discussed is the problem of the Zionist invasion of Lebanon. The conference is supposed to adopt measures for countering the savagery and brutality of the Tel-Aviv regime in Lebanon.

A precise look at the combination of the member countries reveals hopeless signs!! In this heterogenous spectrum one can observe the revolutionary state of the IRI at the top of the list and, unfortunately, dozens of reactionary regimes who have cooperated with the U.S. and the Zionist state to prepare the sad diaspora of the Palestinian fighters.

The first unhappy news received from Niamey is the departure of the Libyan delegation. According to information received the head of the delegation from Tripoli, Miftah Zawam, has accused Niger's state officials of mistreatment as well as refusal of entry visas to some of the Libyan delegation members. Mr. Zawam later said that his delegation had decided to propose "an Islamic leadership to run Mecca and Medina. Miftah Zawam also accused the U.S. and Saudi Arabia of having staged a plot against Libyan participation in Niamey.

At any rate, many eyes are pointed towards the West African state of Niger. Without being overly pessimistic the major question is what can we expect from a conference in which the representatives of some Arab states who have actively cooperated with Begin take part? How can we believe the representatives of Jordan or Baghdad will take anti-Israeli steps while King Hussein and Saddam Hussein have cordial relations with Tel-Aviv? Is not Hassan, the one who killed thousands of Palestinians in Black September and is not Saddam Hussein, the one whose mercenaries killed the PLO representative in Paris only few years ago? What Muslim can imagine delegations coming from the likes of these countries being anti-Israeli?

As far as the Islamic Republic's position is concerned, as Dr. Velayati said before leaving Mehrabad Airport for Niamey:

"Number one, from the outset of Tel-Aviv's invasion of Lebanon we were the first country to send armed forces to confront the enemy. This is indicative of our determination for direct confrontation against the Zionist state.

2. From the beginning we were against any compromise or contemptuous solutions.

3. According to our clear position we categorically condemned any compromise organized by the U.S. agent Philip Habib

4. From the beginning of the Zionist invasion we disagreed with any sort of PLO departure from Beirut and we warned that it is a U.S. & Zionist plot.

5. In the conference we will repeat our conviction which is armed struggle against Israel.

6. We see this new situation in Lebanon a fresh step of the U.S. endeavors to force the countries in the region to surrender to a compromise.

In addition to Dr. Velayati's clear position taking, the Majlis Speaker Hojjatolislam Hashemi Rafsanjani said in the Majlis today:

"We have heard that Reagan has raised his hand in a victory sign. We hope that our fighters will turn Reagan's sweet dreams into a bitter reality".

In the Niamey conference we hope all responsible men, albeit a few, will be able to take firm action against Israel. There is no doubt that any verbal condemnation will be doomed to defeat and ineffectiveness. There is no doubt that the representatives gathering in Niger have several alternatives for taking revenge. An oil embargo, boycotting all U.S. firms and companies, nationalisation of U.S. interests in the Islamic world are just a few possibilities.

From Nigeria to Indonesia and from Kuwait to North Africa the U.S. and its puppet allies have vital interests. Apart from that, Muslim countries have billions of dollars in U.S. and other western banks that they can take out. There are thousands of U.S. experts, in fact spies, in Muslim countries. Their expulsion should be the least action the conference can take.

Any future actions made by Tel-Aviv with the full cooperation of Washington, can be directly related to decisions made by the conference in Niger. Not only are our enemies vigilantly watching the Niamey gathering, millions of angry Muslims are also waiting to see which punishment will be decided in answer to the Zionists in Lebanon.

To the same extent that history will record these sad days for the Palestinian people it will also write for our coming generations any decision which will be made in Niamey, Niger.

CSO: 4600/756

IRAN

TURKS REPORTEDLY TO REBUILD REFINERIES

Colombo THE MOSLEM in English 14 Aug 82 p 4

[Text] LONDON, Aug. 13--Iran has approached a Turkish engineering firm about rebuilding war-damaged oil installations in the port of Abadan and elsewhere in Iran.

Ekmel Diriker, Chairman of Industri Teisati Ve Mazemesi, (Industrial Equipment and Supplies), told Reuters the approach was made to him by the Iranian National Oil Company through the Iranian Embassy in Ankara about 10 days ago.

The Oil refinery at Abadan has been almost destroyed by Iraq bombing and Iranian experts have been quoted as saying that it would be easier to build a refinery at some other location because of extensive damage.

CSO: 4600/755

IRAN

KURDS BEING SUBJECTED TO MASS BANISHMENT

Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 28 Aug 82 p 7

[Text] LONDON, Aug. 27--Iran's clerical authorities have resorted to mass imprisonment and banishment of Kurdish families in a campaign to blunt an armed struggle in Western Iran against the central government, Kurdish sources said today.

A statement by the Kurdish Democratic Party, the organization spearheading the Kurds' guerilla war for autonomy, said security forces were founding up hundreds of families in Kurdish provinces and reporting them.

The statement, issued by the KDP office in Paris, said thousands of civilians had been arrested in the northwestern cities of Mahabad, Bukan, Saqqez and Sanandej.

THE CITIES and Kurdish villages offer recruits to the guerillas who, along with leftist groups, have been fighting the central government for autonomy almost since the 1979 Islamic revolution

Kurdish rebels have been driven out of most urban centers but still control large areas in mountainous western Iran along the borders with Turkey and Iraq.

Tehran newspapers reported today that at least 74 people had been killed in gun-battles between revolutionary guards and Kurdish rebels in several villages near Orumiyeh.

The newspapers said fighting erupted when guardsmen attacked the villages two days ago to flush out rebels. Government forces recaptured the villages after killing 60 guerillas. Fourteen guardsmen died in the operation.

CSO: 4600/755

IRAN

MEASURES TO AID BALUCHESTAN AIRED

Housing Program Announced

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 21 Aug 82 p 13

[Interview with Engr Seyfollah Piracheh, managing director of the Islamic Revolution Housing Foundation of Sistan-Baluchestan]

[Text] Zahedan--KEYHAN correspondent--Brother Engineer Seyfollah Biracheh, managing director of the Islamic Revolution Housing Foundation of Sistan va Baluchestan, answered our correspondent's questions in an exclusive interview.

Concerning actions carried out in the province, he said: In connection with the house construction plans in Zahedan, 61 building units in Imam Khomeyni Street have been turned over to oppressed individuals and persons who had formerly made a request. Forty-five units built at the end of Sa'adi have been turned over. Of the 120 units for Zahedan's oppressed, about 80 units have been turned over and the remainder are under construction. We have plans to build 500 units across the province which will be turned over to the province's oppressed, who are truly among the most deprived persons in the Islamic society. We will start work after studies of construction of a workshop. Loans have been made by the Organization to Expand New Construction to build 28 buildings in Moradabad. Thirty-five units will be built in the village of Haramak, which was bombed by the superpower Soviet Union, ruining the houses of a number of oppressed persons. Due to the need which is felt and the obligation we have to the martyrs, the Housing and City-building General Office, the Political-Ideology Section in the gendarmarie, city police and army, and the Revolution Guards Public Relations Office have agreed to build 24 buildings in Zahedan and Zabol for the families of martyrs. Fortunately, the land has been delivered, and the ground has been broken for the first building. We hope to succeed in delivering them in the quickest possible time. We have 120 units under construction in Saravan, about 40 of which will be turned over in the near future.

Concerning the Imam's Account #100, he said: The housing foundation is a truly popular organization, and other than the Imam's Account #100 into which the people have deposited their money in accordance with the Imam's historic message, we have no means of support. It is only through the assistance of the ever-involved people throughout Iran that we can act to build houses for the oppressed and deprived. We hope to have the merit

of taking a small step for the welfare of these dear ones, and for the Islamic republic and revolution which has taken the oppressed and deprived upon its shoulders. These dear ones are ready to contribute the tiny amount of money they have to the fronts, and to deposit it in that account because of the Imam's message. They are doing this even when they might have no dinner. I hope we can meet the province's needs in relation to the oppressed to the extent we are able.

Concerning house construction for flood victims, he said: A decision was made in coordination with the governor-general's office to repair and rebuild houses of flood victims. About 500 thousand humans were placed at our disposal by the governor-general's office. Most of them we could not repair, but we were able to repair a number of homes and build some others. Recently, in a conversation with technical authorities at the governor-general's office, it was decided that they would put credit at the disposal of the Islamic Revolution Housing Foundation. Outside of its other work, the foundation will give priority to building new homes for flood victims in coordination with the Mayor's Office.

In conclusion he noted that the activities of the Islamic Revolution Housing Foundation have been concentrated in the villages during the current year, and will not have any activity in the city-regions.

Welfare Funds Discussed

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 21 Aug 82 p 13

[Interview with Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Abadi, representative of Imam Khomeyni]

[Text] Zahedan - KEYHAN correspondent - In an interview with KEYHAN Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Abadi, representative of the Imam and Zahedan's Friday prayer leader, spoke about various issues and the problems of Sistan va Baluchestan's people.

At the beginning of the interview, Zahedan's Friday prayer leader, concerning the Ramadan operations, said: Just as the imam commanded, we have no way to struggle against the Zionists or to liberate Jerusalem from the Zionists' claws save through Iraq. We will war with Iraq as long as the Ba'thist-Zionist party governs there. For a while they have led the people astray with their anti-imperialist facade and their opposition to the Zionists and so forth. However, praise the Lord, today the people have realized that the Ba'thist Party, like many other reactionary governments in the region, is protecting U.S. interests in the region. Their collusion has brought the Palestinians to their present sad state. In wartime Saddam has contented himself with words, but his goal is the same as that of Jordan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia, namely protecting U.S. interests. All of them are continuing one line.

Concerning the condition of Sistan va Baluchestan, Zahedan's Friday prayer leader stressed the good relations between the revolutionary institutions and the joint decision-making that exist, and said: There is a great deal of work that must be done in the province. I have noted this in speeches and reported it to responsible authorities during seminars. If it has been resolved to justly distribute equipment throughout the country, then the past deprivations of this province must be taken into consideration. This is particularly so in Sistan where we have natural and geographical problems. For example, Sistan's water is such that the water canals must be dredged every year, and a large budget must be expended annually for this matter. Zahedan Lake does not have great depth, but has a large surface area, and every storm or wind that comes along covers the people's agricultural land and inflicts great damage. The dikes are not strong enough to hold the water because they are earthen. We have spoken to responsible authorities about this; I even notified the Minister of State about the matter. Heavy equipment must be put at the disposal of the farmers so that floods will not destroy their crops in this way. Of course, some companies have brought heavy equipment here in order to rent it to the bureaus. However, because they supplied their equipment from the free market, they do not lease it at a price the government considers permissible. We want the government to allocate a quota to us that is higher than other provinces'. We want it to place at our disposal machinery and agricultural equipment which is produced domestically or imported in order to compensate for previous deprivations and shortages. Sistan va Baluchestan's demands should at least be as large as those of other provinces. He added: Some time ago they came for Tehran's Foundation of the Oppressed and promised some machinery, but nothing has come of it. Responsible authorities have done some investigation, but it was certainly not adequate. Unfortunately, just as we had predicted, a great deal of cultivated land was flooded. Last year the wheat was blighted and destroyed. This year the flood came, and inflicted great damage on agriculture, houses, roads and people. The budget that the government set aside for the flood victims was only 30 million tumans, while the damage has been reported as high as 2 billion tumans. He added: 40 million tumans of sheep were destroyed alone, and the roads were also greatly damaged. The Chabahar - Iranshahr road was destroyed as a result of the flood. At first it had been decided to rebuild the houses, but the damage was so great that this was impossible. Of course, they have made loans, but not even as many as they had pledged.

Asked what the solution was, he said: We have no production here. We have no land ready for agriculture, no stock-raising, no industry. If the people's needs would be met by the cooperatives, the situation would be a little better. However, fair distribution, and the identification of real needs for goods is difficult. If someone wants to investigate, he needs a job and wages.

From another angle, employment here should not be restricted to buying and selling. Small handicrafts should be propagated here, like rug and cloth weaving, etc. People will be absorbed through these channels. A lot of people here were sellers of smuggled goods, but they were strictly stopped. But in order that their capital does not leave the country, it must be

put to use and expended on production. Of course, they do not have the confidence to come forward and say, for example, we have 30 million tumans of money which we want to expend on production. They are afraid this money will be taken from them on the pretext that they were formerly smugglers. Authorities must provide guidance, and present plans for the province's progress and more production. The province's capitalists must be reassured that the government will support them in order to utilize the capital for production. For example, "Hezhber" Yazdani had prepared facilities for 20 thousand head of sheep on Guharkuh. The lands there could be put to good use, and could be put at the people's disposal as a center for stock-raising, and meat, dairy and oil production. They have also reported that 12-meter-deep wells in Delgan strike a great deal of water suitable for agriculture.

They must be persons who have the capability and zeal for work. The government must support them and attract their capital.

Concerning the mass media, Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Abadi said: The province's activities do not get much publicity. During Unity Week, despite all the seminars and sessions and interviews and important subjects that were raised, the people were not informed because they were neither published anywhere nor broadcast. Yet the people of Sistan va Baluchestan, just like the rest of the Hezbollah community, were always on the scene, and are awaiting the commands of their great leader. They desire that other Hezbollahi citizens be informed of news relating to this province.

9597

CSO: 4640/456

'HYPOCRITES' BLASTED FOR 'MURDERING' REVOLUTION GUARDS

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 19 Aug 82 pp 1, 12

[Text] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. The huge gathering of the Party of God nation at the funeral of the pure bodies of the three martyred Revolution Guards who were buried alive after suffering medieval torture showed once again that the more the Americans increase their baseness and madness, and the more they soil their hands with the blood of this nation's youth, the more they increase the hatred and alienation of the fathers, mothers, sisters and brothers of the Islamic revolution's martyrs. The people in this gathering once again showed that the martyrdom of their children only increases the firmness of their steps in the struggle against world arrogance, particularly the world-devouring United States. The hypocrites, Saddam and the United States were thinking that assassination and murder in Iran would have a reverse effect and would ultimately disillusion the people with the revolution. In the same way, the executed shall thought he could protect the bases of U.S. power in Iran forever and prevent their disintegration by means of torture and shedding the blood of Muslim crusaders. However, we have seen so far that things have turned out the opposite in practice.

That which the hypocrites did to the three martyred Revolution Guards in truth makes history's cruelest criminals look good, and even delivers Genghiz Khan from shame to a degree. Saddam in his turn made Yazid look god, and repeated history through his crimes in our Islamic state.

Although several days have passed since the occurrence of this terrible crime, still nothing has been heard from the circles supporting human rights and democracy and their ilk. This time too, out of fear of greater disgrace, they have buried their heads like ostriches in the snow on the White House's roof, not wishing to believe that three human beings were martyred by torture more barbaric than that of the Middle Ages.

Of course there is no room for surprise here, and we expected no more from the leading sheep of blasphemy and U.S.-style human rights. Have we forgotten that these circles were silent during the previous wave of assassinations, and that they even said explicitly that the United States must support the Mojahedin-e Khalq? This time as in previous times, the human rights organizations will protest if they had protested on those occasions. In these situations our minds must basically rest very easy

that the human rights organization has neither ears, eyes nor will, just as we observed during the course of the regime-occupying-Jerusalem's wild attack on southern Lebanon. When oppressed nations like Palestine, Eritrea, Iran, Afghanistan, etc., are attacked and their rights are violated, these organizations and other scarecrows of the same sort do not have permission or authority to sepak out or even acknowledge their existence. However, whenever the Nasiris, the Hoveydas, the Khosrodads, the Najis and the hypocrites are endangered, they shout loudly that human rights are being ignored in Iran. We know that the Human Rights Organization resembles a tape-recorder which they have placed near a microphone, holding a pre-recorded tape. Depending on the situation, it plays or is silent, it warns, announces, or sermonizes like the great Pope.

The U.S. Human Rights Organization will not make a sound because the United States and its satellites hate the Revolution Guards and are pleased with their murderers. This is because Muslims and freedom-fighters should not exist. How can we expect an organization to show a reaction to terrible, inhuman crimes when it was basically created to equate human rights with domination, bayonets and colonialism? Therefore we should not worry since the Human Rights Organization only raises a ruckus and dumps a flood of telegrams from the farthest points of the globe on us when a criminal, a murderer or a terrorist is executed in Iran or elsewhere. If we had been worried about this, perhaps we, like others, would have thought that the revolution should basically occur with the permission of this organization, lest, God forbid, human rights be injured. In this regard God was merciful to us.

Another notable point during the past several days is the new composition of the hypocrite murderers that we see. Certainly you saw the interview several nights ago with several of these born murderers, or that hypocrite who had sat at the head of the grave of the tortured, martyred Revolution Guards. Did you pay attention to what they said? They said: 'We were not members. Rather, we were supporters. We did not care who they were, we were only executing an order. Later on we understood that the martyr, for example, was a Revolution Guards brother'. Or that other one in Fayz Garden who said that he had joined the organization during this year's Now-Ruz, meaning less than 6 months ago! What do these sentences tell us? They tell us that:

1 - The hypocrites organization is suffering a severe shortage of cadres, and it has no alternative but to put persons in its military phase that have not even been sufficiently justified. This action is doubtlessly a mistake for an organization that has old cadres, namely to give such a mission to persons whose chance of arrest or failure is very high. The hypocrites organization, due to the loss of many of its cadres, has no choice but to hire mercenaries and preserve its terrorist existence by any means possible. The hypocrites are now compelled to carry out successful programs in order to build morale among its few supporters. Thus, the reason for the use of new recruits in the military phase is the disintegration of the hypocrites organization.

2 - What does it mean when they said: 'We were not members, and we did not know what positions these persons we were assassinating held'? Is it possible for an organization to use persons to achieve its military goals who do not even know who they are killing, or who are fundamentally not even members? Would an illegal, terrorist organization forced into hiding be so willing to put persons into its military actions who have not even become members, who quite possibly are penetration agents, who might expose their secrets, or at least not carry out orders? Now one must reflect that if a man were not a member, had no special political goal, did not know the side he was fighting, and did not care who it was, then how would it profit a political organization for him to kill a man? The conclusion we draw is that the hypocrites organization, due to an intense shortage of cadres, and the disintegration of its trained core, has acted to hire mercenaries and professional killers, meaning persons who murder for money, for pleasure, and who cooperate with the hypocrites because they have parallel interests. In any case, they consider an organization better than the Islamic government in this respect, and they are right.

Thus, it can be said that the hypocrites are hurting the same way their buddy Saddam is. Both of them are hurting the same way, that is, they are dying. Doubtless, if the murdering Moroccan, Egyptian, Jordanian, American and Israeli mercenaries could help Saddam and save him from dying, then mercenary professional killers can save the hypocrites. Saddam and the hypocrites have the same fate. And these days are definitely the last days of life for the hypocrites.

9597

CSO: 4640/455

PRIME MINISTER BEGIN CRITICIZES U.S. TREATMENT OF ISRAEL

TA151120 Tel Aviv BAMAHAHE in Hebrew 13 Sep 82 pp 14, 15, 16, 17, 82, 96

[Special New Year interview with Prime Minister Menahem Begin at his office on 9 September by Yosef Eshkol, Yosh Halevi and Hagar Enosh]

[Text] Question: Mr Prime Minister, yesterday you announced in the Knesset your wish and intention to hold elections to the Knesset in May-June 1983. What are the issues at stake which must be decided upon by the electorate?

Answer: If elections are held in May-June of next year the main issues will be the essence of the peace for Galilee operation, its development, its motives, its security and political consequences and the latest U.S. positions conveyed to me on 31 August.

Members of the opposition, who were overjoyed that what they call the Reagan plan resembles the Alignment plan, claim that this position--let us call it a joint U.S.-Alignment position--is supported by the vast majority of the public. I am convinced that the opposite is true. However, how can this be determined? Only through elections. Mr Shemtov may claim that his position is advocated by a majority, I may claim otherwise and a third person may say that neither Mr Shemtov nor I can predict as much and this is an argument that can go on forever.

In the last 2 weeks, the United States has grossly interfered in Israel's internal affairs--both by means of leaks by officials whom we know well and by journalists and newspapers. For example, the WASHINGTON POST has explicitly announced that the Reagan plan constitutes the first step in uprooting Begin's rule. The United States of America has been known to use such a method: If a government does not accept certain positions held by the U.S. administration, attempts are made to replace that government either by pressure from the press, by statements of officials, by leaks or by helping the rival party.

These methods are known and this interference has already begun. Rabbi Herzberg has said that this is the beginning of the end of the Begin government, as he phrased it. The WASHINGTON POST has written what I quoted earlier. Anthony Lewis, an assimilated Jew who is a regular

columnist of the NEW YORK TIMES, has written that as long as Mr Begin remains prime minister, the Reagan plan cannot succeed and therefore the only way to assure its success lies in toppling the Begin government. This is a gross interference and our American friends must bear in mind that Israel is not Chile and I am not Allende.

As said, all this is arguable, and it must be shown which position is supported by a majority of the public.

Therefore, the question of holding early elections has never before been more relevant and the demand to hold such elections has never been more justified than these days. We will go to the public. The Alignment will present its plan, which it says resembles the U.S. plan, and we will present our plan which resembles Theodore Herzl's plan and we will see which of the plans enjoys the support of the majority of the public. If Mr Peres is elected prime minister as a result of the next elections, the Americans along with him will be happy to hand over the vast part of Judaea and Samaria to Husayn's rule. If the majority of the public supports the Likud and me, despite my age, and we succeed in forming a government, then the situation is clear: I said in the Knesset that this plan about the repartitioning of Eretz Yisra'el, handing over most of the territories in Judaea and Samaria to Husayn's rule and splitting Jerusalem between two authorities was dead the moment it was born.

Question: You are talking about elections within 2 years of the last elections. Is that healthy for the country in light of the other problems we are facing?

Answer: A third of the U.S. Senate and the entire House of Representatives are elected every 2 years. In Western Europe it is very rare that a parliament completes its term in office according to the constitution; usually they hold early elections. Our terms in office are for 4 years and the Knesset must carry out its duties for 4 years. The cabinet, which according to the parliamentary regime is a sort of executive committee, must also fulfill its duties for 4 years. However, things happen in life; that is democracy. We do not stick to our chairs, as the saying goes. One must go to the people and examine the extent of its support.

I want to know the extent of the public's support for my government, the government I am honored to head in the wake of such important events as those that have taken place in the last 2 years. Two of the most important events are the peace for Galilee operation and the U.S. positions these days. These are two events of major security and political significance.

I want to know the extent of public support for the government's position. Was the government wrong in launching the peace for Galilee operation or did it do a good thing? Is the government right when it rejects the U.S. positions outright and does not at all wish to discuss them, or did it

act rashly? This is absolutely natural, especially when a spokesman on behalf of the Alignment, Mr Shemtov, takes the Knesset podium and explicitly states that the government enjoys a majority in the Knesset but is supported only by a minority of the people whereas the opposition has a minority in the Knesset but enjoys a majority in the public. This statement must be put to the test, otherwise these whispers will not stop. He will say that our government is illegitimate, that we do not represent a majority of the public. I think that never before, as far as democratic rules are concerned, was the demand to go to elections more justified. The problem is one of creating a parliamentary majority to pass a law on the dispersal of the Knesset because in our country only the Knesset is allowed to disperse itself.

I considered it wrong to hold new elections this year or at the beginning of next year in the wake of the peace for Galilee operation. This was a very successful operation; it brought peace to the Galilee and its inhabitants and to many Israeli citizens. However, a war is waged for the sake of the nation rather than for the sake of a party's success. After World War I, Lloyd George organized so-called "mock elections" in Britain in the wake of the war and victory. I am not in favor of such elections. We succeeded in the peace for Galilee operation but this must not be used to profit in the elections. Since I did not think that we had to go to elections I tried to expand the coalition so that it enjoys a stable majority. Today the coalition has a very stable majority, a majority of eight votes. Proportionately, there is a similar majority in the British Parliament where there are 620 members and 40 votes constitute a majority--and this is regarded as a very stable majority in Britain. Let us not forget that Callaghan and Churchill ruled while enjoying a one-vote majority among 620 members of Parliament.

We could have run things this way until November 1985. But in the meantime the issue of the new U.S. positions, a very serious matter, befell us. It constitutes a total deviation from the Camp David accords and in fact it buries and does away with them. We set out our position: We will not hold any negotiations with anyone against such a background and on such a basis, neither with the Americans and the Egyptians nor with any other element. That position is dead; it was born and died the minute it drew its first breath. What can the Americans do? With whom, other than with us, will they conduct negotiations? They may hold talks with Jordan, but what will come out of it? They may hold talks with Saudi Arabia, but what will be the practical result of it? Nothing, we will not hold any negotiations with them whatsoever.

Let us suppose that I meet the secretary of state tomorrow and he tells me: "Mr Prime Minister, I suggest that we now talk about the right of the Arab inhabitants of Jerusalem to vote for the autonomy's administrative council." That very minute I would tell him: "Mr Secretary, I want to change the subject; on this subject I have nothing to tell you and I have nothing to hear from you. This is not a matter for discussion. Do you want to talk to me about the Potomac or the weather or the autonomy--that

is all right with me, but not on the basis of your proposal; it is not a matter for discussions between us." This is what I would tell him.

In any case, the issue of the U.S. position has come up and, in light of this issue, the opposition's spokesman says: We have a majority and you have a minority. So, that must be put to the test and determined. Otherwise, in the next months and perhaps even in the next 2 or 3 years the claim will be voiced that the majority in the Knesset is not a majority and does not represent Israel. Incidentally, we had a great majority [in the knesset vote on 8 September] and I do not know how it was formed: 50 against 34, that is a majority of 16 votes, double the majority we objectively have in the Knesset. Apparently, several Alignment members left the Knesset before the vote was taken. Maybe they were thus demonstrating their dissatisfaction with their party's position.

Were we able to hold elections within 2 months, we should have done that. However, in the next 2 months there will be holidays and then the rainy season begins and it is impossible to hold elections in the winter in Eretz Yisra'el. If I go to Qiryat Shemona and speak in the local movie theater I would be speaking to 800 people whereas if I speak in a square I would be speaking to 10,000 persons. So why do I have to give up addressing 9,200 people? The Alignment describes this as the "culture of the squares." When peace now holds a demonstration in the Malkhey Yisra'el Square that is the culture of peace now, but when I participate in such a rally I am representing the "culture of the squares".... As is known, the former is the beautiful Eretz Yisra'el whereas the latter is the ugly Eretz Yisra'el; the working Eretz Yisra'el as opposed to the parasitic Eretz Yisra'el; Eretz Yisra'el of those who only serve in fighting units as opposed to the Eretz Yisra'el of the cowards, the riff-raff, of those who cannot even make it as camp sentries. This division is well known and MK Hilil wrote an extraordinary article about it in reply to an article by Professor Weiss. Hilil wrote: "Your article denotes feudal superiority, as if you were giving us marks."

To sum up: All the reasons in the world for a democracy to test the public opinion currently exist in our country.

Question: Mr Prime Minister, the Camp David accords speak about autonomy as a transitional arrangement for a period of 5 years. Given the current situation, has the time not come to start talking about a permanent arrangement? What is the permanent arrangement you favor?

Answer: Whoever wants to talk about a permanent arrangement, let him talk but that can certainly not be the United States of America. The United States of America signed the Camp David accords as a witness to the peace treaty--and a witness does not determine positions. For example, were Egypt to step forward and say: You must know that after the period of 5 years we will demand a Palestinian state--such a position is unacceptable to us but it would not be in violation of the Camp David accords.

We are not violating the Camp David accords either. In the basic guidelines of our government's policy we stated that at the end of the 5-year transition period we will demand our right of sovereignty over Judaea, Samaria and Gaza. This must not be done during the transition period, but at the end of it we are free to claim our right and I wholeheartedly believe that we have a right over Judaea, Samaria and Gaza.

And, if the day comes when we apply the sovereignty of the state of Israel over Judaea, Samaria and Gaza we will then also favor full autonomy for the Arab inhabitants there: Full autonomy, with elections to an administrative council, with all the functions we offered to the inhabitants on issues of finance, education and transportation with the exception of security; security we reserve for ourselves.

We stated as much at Camp David as well as on every other occasion in the last 4 years. If we are not responsible for security there will be constant bloodshed and peace will be destroyed. Therefore, we must be responsible for security and that is the reason why that clause in the U.S. positions submitted a week ago which divides security in two---internal and external, giving the internal to the Palestinians---is so grave. If such a thing happened it would mean a constant bloodbath.

We do not deny that there are PLO elements in Judaea and Samaria. There may be PLO elements in Haifa, but they exist in Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza district for sure. We clash with them, we arrest them, they shoot at us and sometimes we open fire at them, we catch them, sometimes they also perpetrate murderous acts, just as when they murdered the Arabs of the village leagues a week ago. Therefore, if security is not in our hands and under our responsibility there will be a constant bloodshed.

The Americans can write such a clause because it does not apply to them. With all due respect--they are good friends--this time they did not dwell in-depth on the matter and now we are presenting them with the truth. The issue is simply out of the question and the Camp David accords, too, do not draw a distinction between internal and external security, they are both one whole. From every word written in those accords it is obvious that security must be our responsibility.

Question: May it be implied from your words that the autonomy plan is in fact also the Israeli government's plan for the interim arrangement which will go into effect at the end of the transition period?

Answer: From its inception, the autonomy plan has been the plan of the Israeli government, it was the fruit of our own initiative. Until 1977 nobody had thought about autonomy. I formed the government in June 1977 and 3 or 4 months later I proposed the autonomy plan. I consulted with the foreign minister at that time, the late Moshe Dayan, and he accepted it. I consulted with the attorney general at that time Professor Baraq, may he live long; I consulted with various other ministers and later

presented it to the ministerial committee on security affairs and the cabinet and everybody accepted it.

It is our own original idea, it is very humane and progressive considering the fact that a large and dense Arab population lives in Judaea, Samaria and Gaza whom we will let run their own affairs. We must not rule over this population; we must keep security and see to the integrity and progress of the country. However, we do not want to directly rule over the Arabs; let them rule themselves, let them manage their own affairs. They cannot establish a Palestinian state because it would pose a threat to our existence; they cannot be given responsibility over security because this would result in bloodshed. However, under conditions of peace, they will run their own affairs in all fields except for security.

Question: Would it be correct to say that, figuratively speaking, the Alignment proposes to divide the land while you propose dividing the population, part of which will belong to the autonomy?

Answer: No, that is not right. I do not propose to divide any population, I propose that the populations live together, without any boundaries. The Alignment proposes to divide the land and hand most of the territory of Judaea and Samaria over to Jordanian rule and it calls the state that will be established then the Jordanian-Palestinian state. The main error of the Alignment--objectively speaking, since as far as we are concerned the matter is totally unacceptable--is that a Jordanian-Palestinian state must lead to a Palestinian state. I claim that the moment Judaea and Samaria, Nabulus and Bethlehem transfer to Husayn's rule, Husayn will summon 'Arafat to Nabulus to establish a Palestinian rule; there is no doubt about this. Then, we will be faced with a Palestinian state which will sign an alliance with Soviet Russia and import modern weapons from Odessa. The flight from Odessa to Bethlehem lasts 2 and 1/2 hours and if they were able to gather billions of dollars worth of weapons and ammunition in Lebanon where they established a state within a state, they will be able to do many times as much in their own state and that will be their country, under their control. They will build an airport near Bethlehem and heavy aircraft will fly in from Odessa carrying cannons, tanks, RPG's and all the weapons in the world.

Then we would be faced with an existential danger, not only by the threat of bloodshed from this tiny little state but also by an existential menace, because behind it lies Jordan, Iraq and Khomeyni's Persia, southeast of it lies Saudi Arabia and north of it lies Syria--and if you put all of them together they total 12,000 tanks. Morocco and Algeria would send help just as they did in the Yom Kippur war. Thus, we would be faced with a war of destruction. We would win that war but we would pay a dear price. Hence, this is an existential danger and we do not intend to agree to it.

Question: What has been happening in the meantime between us and the Americans? Since the Israeli government has rejected the Reagan plan outright, we are in some kind of confrontation with the Americans.

Answer: I am not interested in definitions. We are on friendly terms with the Americans. There is a very serious dispute today between western Europe and the United States about the trans-Siberian gas pipeline and the Americans have even imposed serious sanctions on U.S. firms with branches in Britain and France. So, does anybody say that there is a confrontation between Europe and the Americans? There is an argument. Does that make any difference to their friendship? There is a friendship, the NATO Pact, there is cooperation in all spheres, the security services cooperate and exchange information. Nothing has changed, but there is an argument.

As for us, the Americans presented us with a plan. We do not accept it. What is that? People dictating plans to us? Somebody determining the borders for us? Are we the wastebaskets of anybody? We are a sovereign state, we have vital interests which we determine. If America presents us with proposals that are no good and dangerous, we say no and reject them. And if these proposals are described as positions for negotiations we say: They are not a basis for negotiations.

Question: And if they adopt moves to harm military and economic aid?

Answer: We will not capitulate.

Question: And what will happen then?

Answer: It will be good. The people of Israel are alive. We have means of defense that America does not possess. There is no room for fear: We can live through it. However, the Americans ceremoniously swear that they will not cut aid and I am not arguing with them about this.

It should be known that we are extending them more valuable strategic aid than the strategic aid they give us. They will not confess as much, but they know that. We contribute to U.S. national security more than the Americans contribute to Israeli national security.

I will give you several examples. We know what the T-72 tank contains and we shot down a MiG-25 and put the pieces together. The Americans do not know what the T-72 tank contains and they have never shot down a MiG-25. We invented a patent to destroy batteries of antiaircraft missiles without losing even one plane. Neither the Americans nor NATO have such a patent. I am sure that one day we will share these three secrets with the Americans because we want that. So far we have not done so but if we do, that will be an immense contribution to America such as it has not received in the last 35 years--and they also know that.

So what is this fear all about? Public perceptions as if we are dependent on America are absolutely distorted. There is certainly some kind of dependence, but that also applies to all the countries in the world. NATO depends on America and America depends on NATO. America cannot say that it defends the NATO countries because the NATO countries also defend America.

For example, there are some facilities in Canada without which America would not even be safe for 24 hours--and Canada is a medium-sized country.

There is also such a mutual dependence between us and the Americans and we also contribute to them. They know this and they also admit as much. I have always said that this is a two-way street until Reagan also said the same to his friends a few months ago in my presence. He said: "Gentlemen, this is a two-way street." Namely, they help us and we assist them. We must not worry about cuts in aid; if aid is cut we will live with it.

Question: Let us go over to the issue of Lebanon. The question which most interests the IDF soldiers in Lebanon is: How long will they remain there?

Nobody knows.

Question: Have contacts with the Syrians already begun about the mutual evacuation of forces?

Answer: Contacts have begun but they do not yet include us; Philip Habib has probably begun them. We agreed with the Americans that we will leave simultaneously with the Syrians.

Question: This simultaneous departure can also be carried out gradually: Some of them and some of us.

Answer: I imagine that a schedule for the departure of the forces will be worked out; 25,000 soldiers cannot leave in one go. Let us suppose that it takes over a month, that 6,000 to 7,000 soldiers leave every week, and that our force is as large as the Syrian force. So, everybody would have left by the fourth week.

Question: Does this also include the terrorists?

Answer: Of course, the terrorists must leave even earlier. There are three stages to the evacuation: the first is the evacuation of the terrorists from Beirut and Lebanon, and this stage is over. The second stage entails the departure of the terrorists from Tripoli and al-Biqa'. The third stage refers to the departure of the armies: that is, the Syrian and Israeli armies. Then Lebanon will be a free and sovereign state with its own army. This has been agreed between us and the Americans and we have been carrying out this agreement to this very day. However, the real negotiations have not yet begun. We would like to leave tomorrow and we may leave within 3 months--nobody can tell, everything depends on the negotiations and its results. In any case, we do not intend to sit permanently in Lebanon.

Question: Are we also contemplating another possibility, that of establishing a security zone in southern Lebanon? And what will be Major Haddad's fate?

Answer: Let us hope there is no need for a security zone. After all, we were the first ones who raised the idea of a multinational force in that area of 40 to 45 kms. In retrospect and in view of the difficulties when we saw that the Americans and others were apprehensive, we lost some of the drive to preach for a multinational force. They do not want to and they must not be forced and there may be no need for it. We may work out some arrangements with the Lebanese government and if it organizes significant force capable of guarding a line of 40 to 45 kms there may be no need for a multinational force. This force will not let the terrorists pass as Unifil did.

As for Major Haddad--that is up to Lebanon. We are sure that Major Haddad and his soldiers must be part of the Lebanese army.

Question: Handing affairs over to the Lebanese government and army seems a little odd at the moment in the wake of declarations by circles close to the president elect that he does not intend to sign a peace treaty with us.

Answer: Prior to the peace for Galilee operation he used to say that "Evidently, if we assume power, we will immediately sign a peace treaty." However, since the beginning of the peace for Galilee operation he has been very careful with his words. When he was asked about the peace treaty he avoided giving a straight answer: "A government will be formed and we will consult with it and it will decide what kind of relations must be established with the outside world." I cannot say that I was elated upon hearing this answer but he is entitled to say that.

Question: Nevertheless it looks odd. Had it not been for the IDF and the peace for Galilee operation he would not have been elected president.

Answer: You say that.

Question: There is a large Palestinian population in Lebanon. How do we see their future? Are we at all interested in what happens to them?

Answer: That is the Lebanese government's business. As a human being, I think that Lebanon cannot carry such a burden on its own. Four underpopulated countries which have both water, oil and billions of petrodollars can take in a certain number of refugees each and solve the problem in a humane fashion. Libya, Saudia Arabia, Iraq and Algeria are immense and underpopulated countries in dire need of manpower. Let each one of them take 50,000 people and make them happy. Let them give these people--just as we did with our brethren from the Arab countries--a house to live in, a job to do, bread to eat, shoes to wear and clothes to put on. Is that

difficult for them? It is only a minimal expenditure for them. There is room, there is everything. So what is the problem? Look at the argument they had concerning 7,000 PLO bandits, until each one of them agreed to take several hundred terrorists each. They harbor no goodwill toward their Brethren and these are their brothers, members of the same people.

Is it really hard to take them in, to carry out a so-called resettlement? After all, this is the way refugees in contemporary wars have been handled, since the Turkish attack on the Greeks in Anatolia in 1922 when the Greeks moved to Greece and settled there and the Turks moved to Anatolia and settled there with the help of the League of Nations. That was also the case after World War II with the Germans of Poland and the Germans from the German Sudetenland; nobody demanded that Czechoslovakia should take them back; nobody demanded that Russia take back the Germans to East Prussia; nobody demanded that Poland take them back to Szczecin. They all settled in their motherland, Germany. The same holds true regarding the Pakistanis and the Hindus. Millions of people were on the move, but the Pakistanis went to Pakistan and the Hindus went to India. There was no demand that India take back the Pakistanis. The contemporary solution of the problem of war refugees--and all current wars produce refugees--lies in their resettlement in the land to which these people feel closer from the cultural, moral and traditional point of view. That is the solution and this must also be the solution of this problem. It is not difficult to reach such a solution because all the conditions exist--there is water, oil, money and land. We would also like to help, there is no doubt about it, by giving advice and perhaps some kind of monetary contribution. The world at large would help and the problem would be solved. In any case, given the natural economic conditions, thousands of Palestinians are moving to the Persian Gulf countries.

There is currently a large departure from Judaea and Samaria and instead of outnumbering us due to their high birth rate, the population there is decreasing because of their emigration to the Persian Gulf countries. Fifteen years have elapsed since the Six Day War. According to statistics the experts gave us in 1967, the number of Arabs and Jews in all of western Eretz Yisra'el would have balanced within 30 years. In 1967 we constituted 64 percent and the Arabs constituted 36 percent, so there was a difference of 18 percent. Half of those 30 years have passed since then and this means that they should have increased by 9 percent and we should have decreased by 9 percent. Today they should have numbered 43 percent while we should have constituted 57 percent. So, what is the truth? The truth is that we currently number 65 percent and they total 35 percent. Not only did we not decrease but our percentage has increased. Why is that so? There are objective developments: Their standard of living has risen and as a result the birth rate has declined. This is known.

Incidentally, the opposite is true in Egypt. President Mubarak stopped in the middle of a written speech and suddenly said: "You do not want

to work, you only want to have children. That is why you are in the present situation." They are very concerned. Some 1.1 million people join the Egyptian population every year; they are facing a real population explosion.

However, the standard of living in Judaea and Samaria has risen to an extent unmatched by any Arab country. There is a lot of wealth there so there are fewer children. The second reason is emigration to the Persian Gulf countries. Entire families leave and make huge profits there. Therefore, all the predicted demographic statistics have been proved false. It is very interesting that we are being threatened with the demographic point of view if Eretz Yisra'el is not partitioned.

Question: You mentioned a very basic question and I would like to raise another fundamental question which may be connected to the former. At the time, Herzl coined the term "the Jewish problem" as the driving force of zionism. Today the question arises whether such a thing exists. Is there a Jewish problem today?

Answer: Look at the Soviet Union and you will see that that force exists; look at Argentina and you will see that it exists. There is a very serious Jewish problem in Argentina; there is horrendous and deadly anti-semitism there. This anti-semitism is clandestine and not much is known about it. You should know that hundreds of Jewish youths disappear and vanish. This stems from the war against the leftist underground, but the Jews suffer from it. On the other hand, there are poor people in Argentina who do not have the means for their daily survival. So, there is a Jewish problem.

Look at the Jewish problem in the Soviet Union. The Jews might disappear altogether if we do not take them out of there. That is a Jewish problem.

And what about the Jewish problem in the free countries? Herzl's diagnosis has been strongly applied everywhere and for many generations. Is there not a Jewish problem in France nowadays? The cry "death to the Jews" is being heard in Paris as in the days of Dreyfus. I do not know how they can live there. I could not live in a country where they shout "death to the Jews." So, nothing has changed.

When the day comes I hope that all zionists rely on a positive rather than a negative foundation, that is, the power of attraction of the motherland. In my opinion it is a pleasure to live in this country, a beautiful and good country, truly the country of milk and honey as it is written in the Bible. Do we lack in anything?

Question: So why do they not come?

Answer: One cannot say that they are not coming. They do not come in sufficient numbers. However, history shows that when there is a big Jewish problem and when they are free to leave they go to another country, not to Eretz Yisra'el necessarily. It is a matter of economic habits.

Why do most Jews in Argentina remain there? What is the main reason? The main reason is comfort. A housewife has a lot of help with the menial work at a very low price. What I am saying sounds very trivial but I am telling you that this is one of the main reasons. The housewife and mother running the family definitely has a say in the decision on moving elsewhere--more than the man--and she is comfortable where she is.

They make a living--incidentally, not an extraordinary one because there is galloping inflation there--and they are used to staying put. It is difficult for a person to leave the conditions he is used to.

Look at South Africa. The Jewish community there could have built Eretz Yisra'el on its own; it is a very wealthy community. The fact is that, proportionately speaking, more Jews have come from South Africa than from any other country. But this is still a small part of the Jewish public. There are about 120,000 to 130,000 Jews there. Is it difficult for all of them to come here? That is odd. They could be here within a year but they do not come because they are comfortable where they are. Nevertheless, thousands of them have arrived here because of genuine Zionism.

Question: Perhaps one of the reasons why they do not come is our security situation rather than their comfort?

Answer: I would have said that after the Yom Kippur War. That war was a deep psychological crisis. Israel's resistance in the face of the Arab tanks, cannons and aircraft was in question: Who knew how many they had and how long we would fight, how many casualties we would have. In that war we had about 3,000 dead and 7,000 injured. That was a terrible and bloody sacrifice which shocked the whole nation, but the main question at that time was: Would we be able to stand up to all the developments in the future?

I claim that the peace for Galilee operation to a great extent--albeit not completely--cured us of that trauma. The army again created a deterrent power outward and instilled faith inward.

Question: On the eve of the Jewish new year what would you like to say to the IDF soldiers via BAMAHAANE?

Answer: First of all I would like to express my pride in the IDF and my appreciation to the commanders and soldiers for all they did during the peace for Galilee operation. They must know that what they did was magnificent. I was in Nahariyya and I saw the smiling eyes of Israeli children, I heard their voices; they go to school every morning and come home at noon without any fear. For 7 years there had been a terrible fear of sudden death, but today nobody is frightened. Our soldiers awarded the Galilee with a new life. The soldiers must know that they did that, and that they also renewed the deterrent power toward every enemy and that they have indefinitely and for many years postponed war, war which nobody

wants. Thus, our soldiers can be proud of their service and the qualities they displayed such as devotion, ability and ingeniousness.

We will not forget the price we paid. On the eve of the Jewish new year and Yom Kippur I send my wholehearted condolences to the bereaved families and my wishes for a speedy and full recovery to the injured soldiers.

I have one call to make to the entire Israeli people, both in the motherland and the Diaspora: Let us stand together, we will succeed. And to the Jews of the Diaspora I say: Come and immigrate to Israel.

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BEN MEIR ON WEST BANK AUTONOMY

PM141259 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 10 Sep 82 p 13

[Interview with Israeli Deputy Foreign Minister Ben Meir granted to Miriam Mafai in Jerusalem on 9 September]

[Text] Jerusalem, 9 Sep--"Madam, Israel's borders are an invention of yours, of Western public opinion. Israel's borders do not exist."

Seeing my obvious embarrassment, Ben Meir, deputy foreign minister and possible successor to Shamir, pointed an accusing finger at me and asked: "In your opinion, what are Israel's borders?"

The question was entirely rhetorical because, without giving me time to answer, he continued: "They do not exist: that is the fact of the matter. The armistice line established at the end of the 1949 war is not our border; the cease-fire line established following the 1967 war is not our border. That is all there is to it."

[Question] Mr Deputy Foreign Minister, in your opinion what is Israel's border?

[Answer] It is still entirely to be decided. Of course I have my own opinion, but I cannot tell you it because it is a very controversial issue, even in our own country. I mean, even here in Israel. However, there is one thing that I can tell you very clearly. There is no place in this part of the world for three Palestinian states. There are already two, and that is enough.

[Question] What are these two Palestinian states?

[Answer] One is Israel, the Jewish Palestinian state. The other is Jordan, the Arab Palestinian state. Historically speaking, Jordan is Palestine: 70 percent of the Jordanian population are Palestinian Arabs. That is their state.

[Question] So tell me what Jordan's borders are.

[Answer] On, no! If I said what Jordan's borders were I would be telling you what our borders are. And it all still remains to be discussed.

[Question] Pardon me, Mr Deputy Minister, but unless I am mistaken, you seem to be telling me that the West Bank belongs to Israel.

[Answer] No, I did not say that. It all remains to be discussed. And why not, after all? We invoke Camp David, the key part of the agreement that refers to the recognition of the Palestinians' legitimate rights. Nobody intends to deny these rights. We will grant them very broad autonomy--much broader than the autonomy that you Italians have granted the alto adige. They will be able to elect their representatives freely....

[Question] As long as you approve them, as has already happened in the case of their mayors.

[Answer] No, madam. When autonomy has been introduced, they can choose whomever they like. Now we have a regime of occupation, and such a regime neither envisages nor permits free elections. It was simply a mistake of the previous labor government to permit it. [Answer ends]

Ben Meir cannot be accused of mincing his words. His plan is extremely clear: The Israeli state must extend from the Mediterranean to Jordan and will be a dual-nationality state with a large Arab minority. What if the Americans oppose it? "We shall see," he said; "We shall discuss it. The Americans are, after all, still our friends, though we will never accept Reagan's proposal."

[Question] What are your plans for Lebanon?

[Answer] We want to sign a real peace treaty with Lebanon. We want to do so quickly, and this is now possible, since at last Beirut has a freely elected president.

[Question] Freely? Let us say with your assistance.

[Answer] Of course, with our assistance: and let us hope that al-Jumayyil does not forget it. In politics people sometimes forget.

[Question] What if he does forget?

[Answer] He will not forget, if he wants to enjoy sovereignty over the entire Lebanese territory.

[Question] One last thing, Mr Deputy Minister: Do you believe that the PLO has been defeated once and for all?

[Answer] Our aim was to release Galilee from their threat, and we have achieved this aim. Our second aim was to restore full sovereignty to the Lebanese state, and this aim has been achieved too. I do not know what the PLO terrorists may do, but there is something that I can tell you in all honesty: If they try to organize further attacks against us, we will reach them and hit them wherever they may be. And if any Arab capital--say Amman or Tunis or Damascus--publicly admitted that they had proceeded from there, then we would consider that capital responsible. And we would know how to respond accordingly.

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HARIF ON OPPOSITION TO REAGAN PLAN

TA101803 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 10 Sep 82 p 15

[Commentary by Yosef Harif: "Begin: 'If We Go To the Polls Everything Will Go Into Deep Freeze, There Will Be Nothing To Discuss and We Will Do What We Have To Do'"

[Text] Prime Minister Menahem Begin says he is all agog for fresh Knesset elections. We shall defeat them, he declares in his forecast of an Alignment defeat. "I am looking forward to this campaign. There has never been anything more fateful... I will be going from place to place, all the way from Qiryat Shemona to Elat, to every place, big and little.... And there, too, in Washington they will learn that it is the people of Israel--and nobody else--who determine the composition of their government...."

The prime minister's announcement this week, from the Knesset podium, on early Knesset elections--some 3 years ahead of the legally obligatory date--met a number of interpretations. There were those who saw it as a mere maneuver with nothing behind it, and there were others who saw it as a very practical political move, both on the home front and externally. It would seem, though, that one and all would admit one thing: It is to be doubted that there is going to be talk of the "Reagan plan" in the coming weeks, but there is sure going to be talk of possible elections in Israel.

Is this what induced the prime minister to raise his "sudden" proposal of early elections?

No--says Begin--though it may be a byproduct, a much-used expression during the peace Fov Galilee operation, which course resulted in a number of byproducts beyond pushing back enemy artillery to a distance of 40 km.

One thing is beyond all doubt: This was not a "sudden" announcement, made just because one of the opposition speakers pooh-poohed the government's claim to having majority support. Begin in fact acknowledges as much: "No, it was not a slip of the tongue or what may be called 'shooting from the hip'."

In retrospect it is evident that the administration in Washington will not now be able to "persuade" the government--as U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger delicately put it--to accept the Reagan plan, because of the "byproduct," as Begin thinks of early elections: "...Naturally, if we enter an election campaign," Begin explains, "then up to the elections everything goes into deep-freeze instead of the 'real freeze' of the Reagan plan (the reference is to the expression appearing in the Reagan document about the need to impose a real freeze on all settlement in Judaea, Samaria and Gaza), and we shall meanwhile do what is incumbent on us to do..."

It can safely be assumed that the focal idea behind early elections, broached by the prime minister long before his Knesset appearance last Wednesday, is linked precisely to this principle that "it is the people of Israel who will determine the composition of their government."

Evidence for this assumption may be found in what the prime minister said this week to his immediate associates, that "Washington has to realize that Israel is not Chile and that I am not Allende... Dr Kissinger, who during his term of office as secretary of state got rid of Chile's president, coined the term 'destabilization'--as in Chile--as a way to change the regime... Well, in Israel it is the people who will determine the composition of the government."

From the Knesset podium, Begin repeated this concept--without publicly citing the example of Chile and Allende, so as not to add a rasping tone to the dispute with Washington--when he assailed U.S. personalities and newspapers who have begun to speak and write of the need to bring down the Begin government: "I said and I repeat my demand [doresh] that the United States may not interfere in Israel's domestic affairs."

It would seem that the Reagan administration of its own accord drew the conclusion from such utterances that not only will it not succeed in arousing antipathy to the elected government in Israel, but that would to the contrary: It will enhance sympathy for the government. No self-respecting nation wants its elected representatives to be determined by string-pullers in Washington. Secretary of State Shultz had his reasons for coming out with a statement that nobody in the administration has any intention of intervening in Israel's domestic affairs. But the same Shultz is due to appear at public sessions of Senate and Congress committees dealing with foreign relations in the context of what newsmen have reported is going to a "political attack" on Israel and on its refusal to resign itself to the Reagan plan.

Now no doubt the policy-makers in Washington will have to reexamine some of their proposed tactics in light of the possibility that Israel may indeed decide to hold early elections. As Begin says: "If we go to the polls, there will be nobody to talk to and nothing to talk about... And this will go on for just about an entire year--until elections are held and a new government is formed..."

It is to be doubted that the planners in Washington reckoned with such a possibility of new elections in Israel. And it would likewise seem that the possibility of early elections is this time very real, whether or not everybody in the coalition or in the opposition is in favor of it. The dynamics set in motion by the prime minister's announcement in the Knesset are likely to sweep virtually all the parties, possibly even against their will, into an election campaign. The challenge Begin hurled at the U.S. administration makes going to the nation obligatory. During her term of office as prime minister, Golda Me'ir said that "over the fate of Judaea and Samaria there have to be elections." Whoever supports the Reagan plan--and does not the Alignment claim that this plan is pretty close to its own election platform?--will now admit that what is at stake is the fate of Judaea and Samaria. This being so, how can the Alignment not back the idea of early elections? Actually it should have been the initiator of early elections to this end. Maybe it will secure a mandate from the nation to conduct negotiations on the basis of the Reagan plan, in which it purports to find "positive points."

In any event, Begin testifies on his own behalf: "My proposal is serious. I mean to convince the members of the coalition (the Likud members for that matter are already convinced) that early elections are necessary and that they should be held in May or June of 1983."

The prime minister does not wish to force his opinion on his coalition partners. "I need their consent. I am not going to spring any surprises on them. If I have a majority in the coalition for early elections, I can do without the Alignment. It will in any case come out in support of this... It will be ashamed to say 'no,' even though the fear of new elections sends shivers down its back... But that is no concern of mine. For face-saving purposes, the Alignment will respond positively, if it transpires that there is a coalition majority in favor of early elections."

But how does one secure such a coalition majority?

"I shall apply all my energies to it," Begin says to his men, "I am waiting for Dr Burg (now abroad) to return and afterwards I shall have talks with Tami and with Agudat Yisra'el, and I hope to get a majority... That will take a few weeks..."

It is reasonable to assume that if Begin exerts "all his energies" he will be able to convince all his partners. In the past, the NRP had an option--hinted at by its leaders--that in the event of its being forced into early elections, it could think of joining a different government (that is, one headed by the Alignment). Now this option no longer holds good. Deputy Minister Yehuda Ben-me'ir this week launched from the Knesset podium a strong assault on the Alignment for its support of the Reagan plan. So who can imagine the NRP lending its hand to the formation of a new government, given the substantive dispute over the Reagan plan?

The way things look, so long as the Reagan plan remains the basis of Washington's Middle East policy, there will be no avoiding early elections. "If the opposition spokesman," says Begin, "mounts the podium and claims that while the government does have a majority in the Knesset, among the public it is we (the Alignment) who have the majority behind us, then it has no alternative but to go to the polls. I am sure," on this Begin is emphatic, "that we do have a majority in the nation."

But the impression is that it was not his hearing such Alignment talk--that the government allegedly does not enjoy public support--that prompted Begin to "bother" the people and ask them to go to the polls. There was prompting enough in the recently-published public opinion polls: "I know that the public opinion polls have to be treated with circumspection, but for all that, they are indicative of a national trend. If time after time the public opinion poll findings are that more than 50 percent support Begin as prime minister, while Peres gets only 37 percent, there is something to it... Incidentally, no party in the past 35 years has gained a decisive majority in public opinion polls other than the Likud" (the allusion is to the latest Modi'in Ezrahi poll according to which the Likud would win 66 seats against the Alignment's 35 if elections were held now--now being prior to the Reagan plan).

Above all, Begin is inclined to "go to the polls" in order to prove to the United States that it cannot rely on the spread of dissension among the people of Israel and in U.S. Jewry: "I do not hesitate to say," says Begin, "that this is a national, historic, maybe fateful campaign lying ahead of us, and I want to establish clearly where the people of Israel stand... And Reagan will have to realize that arrangements [hesderim] cannot be imposed on a free nation in its own country."

The U.S. administration has forced such a move on the government that has led it into an impasse: The government simply cannot go along with a plan in flagrant contradiction to the Camp David accords. It amounts to this, that the Reagan administration is in fact trying to back out of Camp David and to create a new basis for the peace process, the crux of which will be the idea of handing over Judaea and Samaria and the Gaza district to Jordanian rule. In such circumstances, the government cannot of course conduct foreign policy affairs. The creation of such a deadlock in which the Alignment at home and part of U.S. Jewry assail the government with the overt backing of the Reagan administration, does not offer the government any chance of taking a political initiative of its own. The only way out is elections.

The prime minister thinks the U.S. administration failed to properly assess things before it launched its plan. He also made the casual observation that one of the two senior officials who worded the document going by the name of the Reagan plan, Charles Hill, serves as "the head of the Israeli desk at the State Department," but the title this man deserves, based on his views, is "the head of the anti-Israeli desk."

"They (the Americans) say that I am angry. In politics anger serves no purpose. In politics one has to be rational. Whoever seeks to appraise my stand on the Reagan plan as the consequence of 'anger' or an 'insult' has not got down to the roots of the matter, so it is not surprising that they were capable of dreaming up such a plan on the assumption that a government led by me would be willing to discuss it. Secretary of State Shultz has said that he is sorry the prime minister felt offended (he said this in his latest conversation with Ambassador Arens). Well, I have noted this, but what does this attest to in regard to things to come?..."

In a tone of ridicule the prime minister dismisses the talk in Washington of his stand being just "an opening gambit" (words to this effect were spoken by Reagan when referring to Begin's statement that Judaea and Samaria would remain in Israeli hands for generations. "What they are saying is that it is just a tactical move on my part. They do not know what Eretz Yisra'el means to me. They have simply failed to conduct their soul-searching properly. And their assessments were deficient. Do they really think this was my 'opening position' and that I should finish up by negotiating the partition of Eretz Yisra'el?"

"No, I do not go along with the maxim 'better to die than to let this happen.' My theory is 'live and let this not happen.' And I state that they (the Americans) will have to permit it (the Reagan plan) to drop out of sight, vanish. Nobody will negotiate it. They made one mistake when they thought they could formulate a 'plan' and submit it to Israel and that we would then conduct negotiations on it. They did not ask themselves, what if we refuse to conduct negotiations?... Would their whole plan then not collapse? If we do not take part in negotiations, they have nothing to talk about. So let us suppose that Egypt does talk to them and Jordan talks to them, but nothing will budge. Israel is what counts above all, and if it does not talk, then nothing will move. This the United States must realize: With all its power, it does not lay down the rules. It will not dictate to us whether the border will be the Jordan River or the Qishon. It is all very fine for Mr Hill to compose a plan. They can now shuttle between Riyadh and Amman--we will not budge from our position. If we had gone to the autonomy talks and, in the course of them, the United States had tried to raise the ideas that are in the Reagan plan, as for example the partitioning of Jerusalem, then at that very same instant our delegate would have gotten up and said 'goodbye, Mr Hill,' and walked out...."

Whoever pays attention to the prime minister's moods these days will have no difficulty in assessing the chances of the Reagan plan as far as this government is concerned. The sense of insult which marked the new U.S. move at first, when the U.S. ambassador brought to the prime minister at his vacation residence the presidential note with the tidings of the new plan, has in the intervening 2 weeks given way to an altogether different feeling: "I feel," says Begin to his associates, "that our forefathers stand beside me in this campaign--Bar-Kochba and the MacCabee warriors,

and all our ancestors who shed their blood for Eretz Yisra'el. Yes, I am waging the war for Eretz Yisra'el. At my side stand Herzl and Jabotinsky and Nordau and also Berl Katzenelson and Tabenkin in the war for Eretz Yisra'el. They are still talking about me, smarting with a sense of 'insult'.... I feel contentment, exaltation, faith, a sense of mission. I am just the prime minister in this campaign, which is a historical campaign."

....And from this feeling on to the action that follows: There is nothing else we can do other than go to the people. And already Begin visualizes the forthcoming "atoning ritual".... In his mind he already has both feet planted deep in the electoral campaign. "Yes, I know all about those who deride the oratory of 'public squares.' Interestingly, when they (the Alignment) indulge in such oratory in the public squares it is called 'the culture of Europe.' When I do so it is 'the culture of Asia'."

But in the company of his aides Begin is talking about precisely the public squares: "What of it, why do I have to appear in a hall with 800 seats when I can speak to an audience of 20,000 out there, in Netanya, or in Lod?..."

If you want to see it this way, his last speech in the Knesset, especially the second part of it, sounded--in its content and in its rhetoric and in its drama--like an opening electoral address. A.. the quotations from the sundry declarations made in the past by labor leaders in favor of the integrity of Eretz Yisra'el; the disclosure of the personal conversation between Ben-Gurion and Guy Mollet of France (Begin: I am ready to take an oath that I heard this from Ben-Gurion), in which Ben-Gurion spoke of the "new map" in the region with Israel having to include Judaea and Samaria and the dangers Israel would incur if control over Judaea and Samaria passed out of Israel's hands, imperilling its security--all these sounded like dress rehearsal for the debut to the election campaign.

It was not for nothing that straightway voices were heard in Washington expressing "surprise and concern." The opening of the election campaign in Israel does not only signify the freezing of the Reagan plan for at least a year; what if, after all, Begin is still around heading the government after the elections in Israel? Will the United States then still be able to go on taking dissension in the nation for granted?

In the dynamics of the region, with Washington believing in the necessity for a new impetus to the Palestinian question, a year is not just 12 months, it is an eternity.

Willy-nilly, Washington will have to reconsider its steps, bearing in mind the "political reality" created this week by Prime Minister Menahem Begin by his apparently offhand remark about early Knesset elections. Certainly a superpower like the United States cannot simply shelve its plan, but

neither can it altogether ignore its ally and dictate to it a permanent arrangement, which goes by the modest name of a "list of positions" and, on the face of it, does not make each and every detail obligatory, but leaves room for negotiations.

No. It looks as if the U.S. administration did not appraise the prime minister's sensitivity in the matter of Eretz Yisra'el well enough. But this does not mean that Washington has to conduct its affairs by the "dictates" of Begin. Neither does it mean that it is possible to reach an understanding with Husayn and with Fahd of Saudi Arabia, and from there on assume that Begin will somehow or other accept the plan which, in his view, is a forthright prescription for a Palestinian state.

In his Knesset speech, the prime minister declared himself happy to be presented with the opportunity of performing so divine an ordinance--waging the war for Eretz Yisra'el. There are those who will say that out of his throat comes the voice of "mysticism" and that there is no political realism in his utterances. But say what they will, what difference does it make? The fact is that so long as a different government has not been elected in Israel, the Americans are going to have to do their talking to Menahem Begin. If the administration presumes that a "political attack" from the United States, through the Senate, Congress, the media and certain Jewish leaders, will help it compel Begin to change his position, it is simply mistaken. It looks as if the heads of the U.S. administration will have to acknowledge now--before the "political attack" is launched in the United States--that the prime minister has preempted it with a counter "political attack" from Jerusalem.

A superpower like the United States naturally has ways and means of pressuring a small country like Israel, whose dependence on it is far from small. But not even such a superpower can prevent a small country from going to the polls....

On the tactical level, it seems as though the prime minister managed this week to push Washington into a corner and force it to have second thoughts about its moves.

There is no telling right now what these second thoughts will produce. But one thing is clear: it will be difficult to stop the momentum toward elections, what with Begin believing that this is the sole way of escaping the strangling clutch of the Reagan plan.

As Begin says: "We cannot yield, because this is a war over two words--Eretz Yisra'el--or even one word--zion. In this war, which I regard as fateful, I grow wings...."

Whither does the prime minister intend to fly?

"....I have no need to fly. I stand my ground."

CSO: 4400/477

COMMENTATOR SCHIFF ANALYZES PEACE OF GALILEE OPERATION

TA151709 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 14 Sep 82 pp 13, 14

[Commentary by Ze'ev Schiff: "Who Conned Whom"]

[Text] The prevailing view among those critical of the war in Lebanon is that Prime Minister Menahem Begin and Defense Minister Ari'el Sharon misled the public and the opposition regarding the objectives of the war. They claim that from the beginning, the intention had not been to an operation whose mere objectives were removing the Galilee settlements from the range of the terrorists' artillery fire but that their goal had been to reach Beirut and appoint Bashir al-Jumayyil as president of Lebanon even if it entailed widespread battles with the Syrians in Lebanon. According to this view, the 40 kms were only an excuse and camouflage to placate and ward off criticism and opposition at the critical moments. Hence, the misleading was not only directed at the enemy and a friendly super-power such as the United States, but also at the people in Israel--including the opposition--and perhaps also at several cabinet members who did not support the operation but were dragged into it against their will. Thus, the people subscribing to this view demand the establishment of a state commission of enquiry to probe into the government's functioning and, above all, into the issue of the objectives of the war.

As for Defense Minister Sharon, there is no doubt that he had from the outset intended, planned and even instructed the IDF at the beginning of the war to carry out the big move, a move aimed at reaching the Beirut-Damascus main road, linking up with the Christians, expelling the terrorists from Beirut and also helping in the appointment of al-Jumayyil to the presidency. Such a move called for battles with the Syrians, and Sharon, militarily experienced as he is, could not have failed to foresee this. As far as Sharon is concerned, an operational plan about 40 kms did not exist at all. However, the question is to what extent did Sharon let the prime minister in on this plan and whether the opposition discerned this intention before the outbreak of the war.

As can be recalled, the prime minister several times summoned the heads of the opposition to closed meetings where, at his own initiative, the intention of launching an extensive war against the PLO in Lebanon was raised. Two of these meetings were held before the war, on 6 April and

16 May. Another meeting took place on the day the war started and after the cabinet had already decided about the operation. On behalf of the opposition, these meetings were attended by Messrs Peres, Bar-lev and Rabin and Victor Shemtov also joined in the last meeting. Begin was usually accompanied by Shamir, Sharon and Ben-elisar or by some of the three. According to one version--corroborated both by members of the opposition and the coalition--already in the meeting in April Mr Begin also mentioned the alternative of a massive and extensive operation. Indeed he did not mention Beirut but he emphasized that the refernece was to a change in policy from the military point of view and that the IDF would no longer engage in retaliation of acts of terror. Mention was not made at that time of the boundaries of the extensive operation but the opposition representatives--a former defense minister and two former chiefs of staff--probably guessed what a massive and extensive operation meant. It is true that the opposition representatives expressed their objection to an extensive operation and emphasized that they would oppose any large operation in the wake of a marginal act of terror, especially in view of the fact that calm had in effect been prevailing for several months and there had not been any terrorist attacks.

Mr Begin changed his style in May. On this occasion he spoke with the opposition leaders about an operation of limited scope. There was no indication of an intention to send the IDF toward the Beirut-Damascus main road or to Beirut and other targets outside southern Lebanon. On the contrary, Begin did not go into detail since the defense minister was supposed to do that. However, in this respect, Sharon--and probably not by accident--opted for vagueness. When Yitzhaq Rabin asked whether Sidon would be within the boundaries of such an operation Sharon gave two contradictory replies. After clarifying the matter at the time, Defense Minister Sharon later said that Sidon would indeed be included within the boundaries of the operation. That is to say, initially the man was not certain whether Sidon was included or not but later he said that it would indeed be included and hinted that there was no intention to even reach ad-Damur, let alone Beirut. However, today there is no doubt that that was not what the defense minister was thinking; Sharon did not for one day deviate from his big plan.

Did the prime minister behave likewise, did he also mislead the opposition or did he have a good reason to change his position since April when he spoke about the extensive alternative?

There are those who believe that the prime minister merely reneged on his formulation and that in fact Begin did not abandon Sharon's big plan as it indeed came to pass. The renegation on the formulation was apparently provoked by hinted criticism in Israel about a possible war in Lebanon which would have political objectives, such as the appointment of al-Jumayyil, but first and foremost by the fear that an expanded definition of the objectives of the war would provoke an immediate U.S. counter-reaction when Israel invaded Lebanon. What Begin said about a limited

operation was a camouflage aimed at neutralizing internal and external opposition. According to another version--advocated by some members of the opposition--at that stage Begin was indeed interested in a limited operation. Only later, in the course of the war, when military victory emerged and the Americans refrained from denouncing Israel did he get carried away by Sharon and adopt the defense minister's big plan.

What is relevant to us is that even prior to these meetings and later too the heads of the opposition through their personal connections knew that Sharon's operative intentions differed from what they had been told in the meetings. The press wrote about it and information also came from other sources. If there was room for a sharp reaction and an all-out intervention against an extensive war in Lebanon it should have been voiced before the first bullet was fired, before the IDF crossed the Lebanese border; such words would have been better accepted and understood than the criticism during the war. However, the opposition in the know merely reacted with a whisper. Its reactions were occasional, sporadic and unplanned, as if the question at stake was not an imminent big war. In this respect, the opposition did not loyally perform its duties. Were a commission of enquiry on the war to be set up it would certainly also go easy on its conclusions regarding the heads of the opposition.

It is impossible to draw a full picture if one ignores the meeting held on the day the war erupted, on 6 June at 1100 a.m. The previous evening, at the end of the Sabbath, the cabinet approved the launching of the war. The heads of the opposition, who this time included Victor Shemtov, only after the meeting disclosed that while they had been discussing the cabinet decisions the IDF had already crossed the Lebanese border. At that meeting the defense minister said that our forces would reach the Sidon-al-Qir'awn Lake line within 12 hours. The opposition warned against setting objectives beyond that range and expressed its apprehension about an entanglement with the Syrians. The answer they received was that the IDF had been issued instructions not to get closer than 4 kms to the Syrian forces (this instruction was not followed). On the face of it, it may be said that the prime minister had still hoped the IDF was setting out on a limited operation. So, why did he not reveal to the opposition representatives that same day that the intention was--and that instructions to that effect had already been issued to our forces--to bypass and outflank the Syrians by means of an extensive and deep move all the way to the Beirut-Damascus main road and bring about their withdrawal? This outflanking move ultimately caused the fighting between us and the Syrians. On the very day of the outbreak of the war Begin refrained from telling vital details to the opposition. Even at such a time, vagueness was more important than the unity of the people.

At this stage it does not matter what the opposition interpreted the words of Begin and Sharon. What matters is that until the war broke out the opposition cheated itself more than it was cheated. It is hard to believe that it was misled on issues which its defense experts (a former

prime minister and chief of staff, a former defense minister and chief of staff in addition to another chief of staff who did not participate in the meetings) knew inside out. It is more reasonable to assume that certain opposition leaders realized and knew what was going to happen but nevertheless opted for not reacting much or hardly at all.

Following the war, government representatives claimed that they had not misled the opposition and that its leaders should have realized what was happening. Even from cabinet Resolution 676--its vagueness notwithstanding--they could have guessed the expanded objective of the operation. The first clause of the cabinet resolution states: "To entrust the IDF with the mission of removing all the Galilee settlements from range of the terrorists, their headquarters and bases concentrated in Lebanon." The fourth clause states: "The state of Israel continues to aspire to sign a peace treaty with an independent Lebanon while maintaining its territorial integrity." According to these government representatives, Israel's intention to strive for the establishment of a strong government in Lebanon which would sign a peace treaty with us may be deduced from the latter clause while the first clause mentions headquarters and bases in Lebanon and thus Beirut should not be excluded from the boundaries of the operation. That is a tenuous explanation. The first clause is vaguely formulated but whoever speaks about the range of fire from the Galilee settlements and in the same breath goes on to refer to the headquarters and bases cannot claim that the reference is to bases outside the range of fire. Had that been the case, we should have reached the bases in Tripoli and the entire al-Biqa' Valley.

Sharon time and again emphasizes that the cabinet knew about all the moves and that it had decided on every move beforehand. Not all the ministers agree with this; some say as much in private talks, other air their views through unambiguous hints. It is clear that not all the ministers agree with Sharon's declarations that they had known about everything beforehand, that the whole picture had been shown to them and that they had always been told about the comprehensive operational significance of their decisions, not to mention all the operations that were carried out without their knowledge as some of them claimed in cabinet meetings. Sharon's aides retort by saying that these allegations are false and that the defense minister is being held responsible for actions that the entire cabinet or Begin had approved beforehand (such as the last bombings or the mobilization of the reserves).

Incidentally, Sharon claimed the same things in the past when he was accused of evacuating the Bedouin from the Rafah approaches and of setting up the towers in the Sinai during the negotiations with as-Sadat. At that time, his associates claimed that Dayan had given him his approval to evacuate the Bedouin and establish the towers in the Sinai. Likewise, they produced a document authorizing the mobilization of reserves claiming that it covered any mobilization, even if its purpose was a break into Beirut.

It is true that previous governments did not function any better in times of war (for instance, the command to invade the Golan Heights in 1967 was

issued to the commander of the northern command by the defense minister without the previous approval of the cabinet and without notifying the chief of staff). However, years have elapsed since then and these misdeeds were supposed to have been rectified. Certainly, no previous government harbored such suspicions toward the defense minister that he might mislead the cabinet or set faits accomplis. There are those who claim that the whole truth about the objectives of the war should not be told, neither to the opposition nor to the people. Indeed, secrets should not be revealed in times of war but only if they are secrets and not merely a trick to unnecessarily expand an initiated war. Given this situation, the government should not be surprised that many people feel cheated and that the national consensus on security has been eroded.

Instances in which cabinet decisions were determined by events in the field have been known to have happened in the past. This also occurred during the six day war, but this time the war was initiated by us and the big plan had been drawn up many months in advance, as Sharon himself stated. It does not matter very much whether Sharon dragged the prime minister or whether Begin realized when Sharon wanted to drag him and he got carried away willingly. It is difficult to tell what happened between the two men during the war but it is clear that too many people cheated one another or cheated themselves and did not loyally perform their duties, and this holds true for both the government and the opposition.

CSO: 4400/477

LIBYA

BRIEFS

CENTRAL AMERICAN LEADERS--The brother leader of the revolution yesterday evening received Mr Alberto Salom, the secretary general of the socialist party in Costa Rica, and Arnaldo (Rogier), member of the central committee of the party in El Salvador. The brother leader also received a delegation of the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation in El Salvador and Ferman (Cienfuegos), leader of the National Resistance Movement, and Cayetano Carpio, leader of the Movement of Popular Forces for Liberation in El Salvador. [Text] [Tripoli AL-FAJR AL-JADID in Arabic 4 Sep 82 p 1]

CSO: 4504/535

NEW FACILITIES TO AID PHOSPHATE PRODUCTION, DEVELOPMENT

Paris EUROPE OUTREMER in French No 626-627, Mar-Apr 82 pp 31-33

[Text] South of Casablanca, where the road starts towards Marrakech, the impressive and massive building of the headquarters of the Group of the Main Phosphate Office (OCP) has been standing for several years. Two figures give an idea of its dimensions: site area, 150,000 square meters; floor area, 78,000 square meters. This building, a Franco-Moroccan project, is without doubt one of the most beautiful and largest recent functional achievements in Africa, and the interior arrangements bond taste with efficiency. It is on the scale of the leading enterprise of Morocco which is one of the largest on the African continent.

The share represented by the exports of the OCP Group in international phosphates trade--a third of world exports--puts the Kingdom of Morocco firmly in first place in this area ahead of the United States and the USSR.

The quality and size of the phosphate reserves with which nature has endowed Morocco provides a solid base for the creation and expansion of mining and industrial activity. Its subsoil actually contains the most vast and richest deposits of phosphate on the whole planet. The probable reserves of the country today are estimated at 57.8 billion tons, or about 75 percent of world reserves. The known resources studied in the western Sahara represent scarcely 6 percent of the total known resources and therefore cannot affect the position of Morocco with regard to phosphate on the world scale. They are not as fabulous as has sometimes been stated.

Three Axes of Development

The OCP Group employs 26,500 people. Its mining is presently divided among three autonomous geographic zones: Oulad Abdoun (Khouribgal), Ganntour (Benguerir and Youssoufia) and Boucraa (western Sahara) along the following axes:

Axis	Annual Production Capacity	Millions of Tons of phosphate	Port of Exportation
Khouribga- Casablanca	Phosphate	18	Casablanca
Benguerir- Yousseoufia- Safi	Phosphate Phosphoric acid and fertilizer	9 5	Safi
Boucraa- Laayoune	Phosphate	5.5	Laayoune

Production and Sales of Phosphate

In 1981 Morocco produced 18.7 million tons of natural phosphate (against 20.8 in 1980), which, compared with the 1970 production (10.7 million tons) represents an increase of 75 percent. Sales rose to 19.14 million tons, a slight rise over the preceding year's production of 18.7 million. The world crisis, which has caused the poor behavior of the world phosphate market, explains this relative stagnation. With regard to foreign trade, exports of phosphate and its derivatives represented 45.4 percent of total exports, worth 5.45 billion DH [dirhams].

The sales are divided into exports (15.63 million tons in 1981) and domestic sales to Maroc-Phosphore and to Maroc-Chimie (3.5 million tons), wholly owned subsidiaries of the OCP, for conversion into phosphoric acid and fertilizer for further export, consumption in Morocco being still very low. While exports of natural phosphate dropped slightly compared with 1980, domestic sales rose by 1.1 million tons, which proves that the domestic rate of valorization has risen.

As the table below shows, Western Europe is by far the greatest buyer of natural phosphate, with 65.2 percent of the total, the primary customers in order of importance being Spain, France, Belgium, and the United Kingdom. The Eastern countries constitute the second group of buyers with 2.85 million tons, or 18.2 percent of the total. It should be noted that the USSR does not buy natural phosphate. Finally, a third group of countries (Australia, Turkey, South America, and Asia) bought a total of 2.6 million tons, the main two being Mexico (839,000 tons) and Japan (618,000 tons).

Natural Phosphate Sales in 1981 (in millions of tons)

Western Europe	10.181
Spain:	(2.348)
France:	(2.068)
Belgium:	(1.465)
United Kingdom:	(.989)
Eastern Europe	2.848
Poland:	(1.280)

Other Countries:	
of which Mexico:	(.839)

Morocco	
(domestic sales for valorization):	3.504

TOTAL	19.140
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Production at the Safi chemical complex plants reached 738,734 tons of phosphoric acid processed into 561,136 tons of clarified phosphoric acid and 430,157 tons of fertilizer (including 265,980 tons of triple superphosphate or TSP), or a total equivalent in phosphate of 2.8 million tons. Sales, 548,895 tons of which were of phosphoric acid and 256,762 tons of which were TSP, represented a total of 2.75 million tons of equivalent phosphate.

In order to satisfy its customers and avoid any risk of a shortage of fertilizer on the national scale, the Moroccan Fertilizer Company (Fertima), a subsidiary of the OCP, is equipped with several industrial units and a growing distribution network. The whole at present comprises seven plants and 201 agencies. A plan of action has been decided in concert with the government so as to create the infrastructure necessary for receiving, processing and distributing fertilizers between now and 1985-86. In this framework, Fertima sees the construction of eight new plants to increase its storage capacity from 100,000 to 300,000 tons.

Development of the Mines

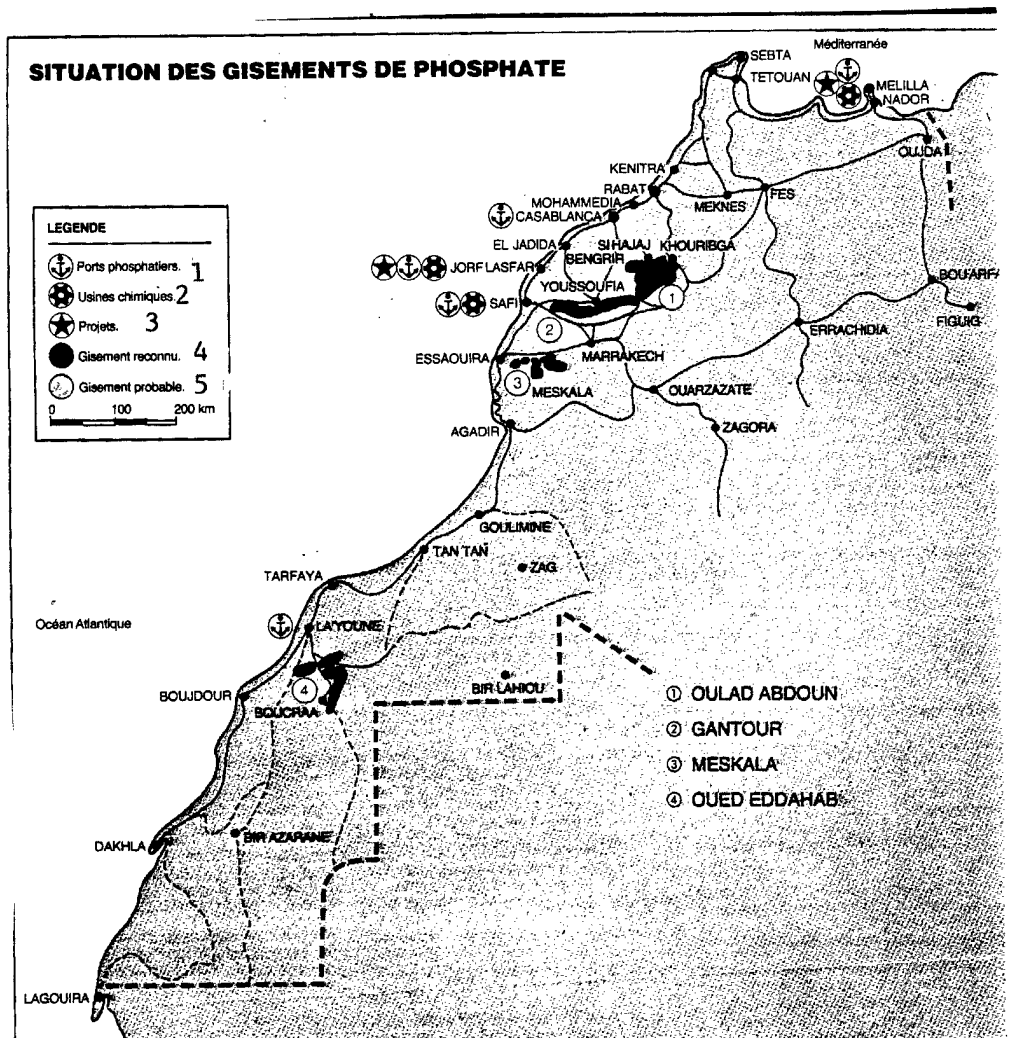
In the field of its mining activities, the OCP Group is pushing the completion of the projects included in its development plan. Among the most important are the following:

1) at Khouribga: the opening of Onsetting Station IV with a capacity of 3.9 million tons per year, the startup of which is planned for 1984, and the extraction and treatment of Stratum II of Merra-El-Ahrech which will go into production in 1984, the potential capacity of which will reach 4 million tons per year. The unit of the Oued Zem complex, which is to treat 4 million tons per year by drying, will start up in 1982.

2) at Benguerir: the extension of this zone through the opening up of Benguerir II. In this context mining, mineralogical and treatment studies are under way. The exploitation of the Benguerir II Sector, with a capacity of 3 million tons, already began in 1979 and is destined to feed Maroc-Phosphore II.

3) at Sidi-Hajjaj (Province of Settat): the start of mining the deposit, which will comprise a very important focus of development, considering the identified reserves and particularly the quality of the ore. Production, destined for export, will start in 1984; the planned capacity is 3 million tons per year in a first stage, and will ultimately be raised to 6 million tons per year.

4. at Meskala (Province of Essaouira): the start of production in 1990 which could reach 10 million tons by the end of the century. Geological prospecting in this zone has entered the active phase.



LOCATION OF PHOSPHATE DEPOSITS

Key:

- (1) Phosphate ports
- (2) Chemical plants
- (3) Projects
- (4) Known deposit
- (5) Probable deposit

The Boucraa Deposit in the Western Sahara

The phosphate reserves of Morocco as a whole are estimated at 57.8 billion tons (or 75 percent of world reserves), 72 percent of which are located in the northern part of the country and 3 percent in the south (deposit of Oued Eddahab).

The PHOSBOUCRAA Company, in which Morocco owns 65 percent of the shares through the OCP, and Spain 35 percent through the intermediary of the INI (National Industrial Institute) was created to exploit the phosphates in this region.

The PHOSBOUCRAA installations are in operating condition and production is to start any day.

Deposit of the Meskalas

Moroccan-Soviet Cooperation in the Field of Phosphates

In the framework of Moroccan-Soviet cooperation, 4 agreements were concluded with the USSR on 10 March 1978. They concern on the one hand the completion of an industrial phosphate complex at Meskala, with an estimated value of almost \$2 billion, and on the other hand exchanges of raw materials and products between the two countries for a period of 30 years.

The long-term economic and technical cooperation agreement on phosphates between the two countries envisages the following three successive stages:

1. Reconnaissance and geologic prospecting of the Meskala phosphate deposit and the preparation of technical and economic studies preliminary to the development of this deposit.
2. Studies on the project as a whole, including the necessary infrastructures.
3. The carrying out of the work of construction and installation:
 - of the installations necessary for the production of the phosphates;
 - of the infrastructure indispensable for the mining and export of the phosphates.
 - social and residential infrastructures.

All of the production installations and infrastructures cited above will be completed in several phases aiming at a production which should progressively reach 10 million tons of marketable phosphate per year. The protocol on the exchanges of products provides that during a 30-year period, the USSR will deliver to Morocco chemical products, raw materials and other products in exchange for deliveries during the same period, from Morocco to the USSR, of phosphate chemicals and natural phosphate.

The Future Chemical Complex of Jorf Lasfar

The construction of a vast chemical complex is under way at Jorf Lasfar, located in the province of El Jadida. Its first phase includes:

-- A "Maroc-Phosphore III-IV" unit of a capacity of 4,000 tons per day of P_2O_5 , using ore from Khouribga; production will begin in 1985.

-- a DAP [dihydroxyacetone phosphate] and NPK unit for domestic agriculture and export.

-- a washing and drying unit which will treat phosphate coming from Sidi-Hajjaj, the capacity of which will be 3 million tons per year. The leveling of the platform of the complex has been completed. The contract for the coordination part of the project has been signed. Studies and appeals for bids follow one after the other. The important contract for the sulfuric acid plant (6 units) was won by a Spanish-Japanese consortium over French and British bids particularly. It is estimated to cost more than 1 billion French francs.

The installation of a new "Maroc-Phosphore Nord" phosphoric acid plant is also planned at Nador. It will start operations in 1985. With a total capacity of 2,000 tons per day of P_2O_5 , it will be fed with phosphate from Khouribga.

Starting "Maroc-Phosphore II" at Safi and the fourth line of "Maroc-Phosphore I," as well as the installation of the chemical complex of Jorf Lasfar and the unit planned at Nador, will thus mark for Morocco a new stage on the path of its development and the diversification of its products.

Also planned is the progressive completion, at Safi and Jorf Lasfar, of units for extracting the uranium contained in the phosphoric acid produced by these two zones. A first unit will be put into service at Safi in 1983 (capacity on the order of 200 tons of uranium oxide per year).

The various completed works and projects of the OCP Group indicate both its desire to push its development in the direction of a vertical integration and its confidence in the future of international trade in phosphates and its derivatives. The size of its reserves of phosphate will place Morocco in a position to reach, over the long term, the rank of leading world producer.

Thanks to the potential of its present and future chemical industry units, the OCP Group has set for itself the goal for the years to come of valorizing, on the national soil, 30 percent of the total production of phosphate.

It should finally be noted that the investment expenditures planned during the 5-year period of 1981-1985 amount to 26 billion DH, of which 14 are in foreign exchange.

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